

The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

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The Passing of a Pope and the Making of a New One

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, Ph. D.

I.

January 20th—The evening papers say that Pope Benedict's condition is hopeless. His bronchitis has become pneumonia and his strength is failing rapidly. Only Tuesday of this week he was holding audiences. But the doctors say that only a miracle can save him now. This is almost the first notice we have had of his illness.

January 21st—The Piazza of St. Peter's is rather less empty than usual, and there is an ever-changing crowd near the Bronze Portal waiting for bulletins. At various hours, white coiffed Sisters of Charity have led their little charges to the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament to pray for the Holy Father's recovery. Poor infants! They looked startled and half-abashed, as if they realized the solemnity of the occasion without understanding what it meant. Every church is ablaze with votive candles, thousands in some, I am sure. And the papers say that continual masses are being said in the chapel adjoining the Papal bed-chamber. About sunset, a monk who had been praying all day, came rushing down the steps of St. Peter's, crying: "A miracle! A miracle! The Holy Father is well again!" And for a moment all believed him as he evidently believed himself.

Sunday, January 22d—The morning papers say that Pope Benedict XV died at 6 A. M., and they give full details of his last hours on earth. What a pity!

His policy did seem so very right for these times, and his apparent failures were just beginning to take on the semblance of success. *What a pity!*

All day long gorgeous automobiles have flashed under the archways to the Cortile of San Damaso, but there has been no other sign by which the outside world might know that a Pope lay dead in the Vatican. True, the votive candles have disappeared, and the round-eyed children are no longer seen in the chapels. But the Piazza is as empty as usual. Inside the churches priests in green vestments read the mass and at sunset the crowds on the Pincio and in the Corso are even gayer than usual.

Within the Vatican, the Papal Secretary of State Cardinal Gasparri has received the diplomats accredited to the Holy See, Government representatives and members of the "Roman aristocracy"—how the papers do love that term!

At three-thirty, the body of the Pope, arrayed in robes of state, was escorted by the Papal Bodyguard,

the Palatine Guard, and the Swiss Lancers, to the Throne room, where it lies in state until tomorrow.

Monday, January 23d—Cardinal Gasparri has officially notified the Government of the death of Pope Benedict XV, and has been unofficially criticized for so doing by Cardinal Merry del Val, now, as always during the last Pontificates, leader of the opposition. Flags are at half-mast on all Government buildings, but nowhere else. What a contrast to the popular feeling displayed a week ago when the American mission was received by the King! Hardly a house then was undraped. Ah, well, it is fifty years since 1870, now, and people forget very soon.

At nine A. M.—The skies were grey and forbidding and give promise of another week's downpour. The great iron gates to the portico of St. Peter's were closed, and troops were before them and at the foot of the steps, in the colonnades—everywhere—some two thousand in all—armed with rifles and even carrying service kits!

All public schools are closed and the Piazza is full of school children of all ages, "Little fathers" there with their charges, and men selling pictures and medals of the Pope at exorbitant prices.

A peanut vender is getting much custom, although most of those present have brought their own refreshments—huge rolls with meat, cheese, or spinach inside. And all the while beggars have been whining out their monotonous importunities.

By nine o'clock the crowd began to gather—rather slowly at first, as if uncertain it would be worth while to remain, and then yielded to the attraction of the brilliant equipages which, before ten, streamed by in steady procession—magnificent automobiles, carriages with liveried attendants, modest little two-wheelers and the glaring red "Servizio pubblico" autos which deposited their distinguished "fares" rather hurriedly and then started off for new prey. Evidently here as elsewhere, there are degrees of greatness.

The foreign Cardinals are arriving and are lodging in the seminaries of their various countries. Only a very few stop in the Vatican. At ten those outside knew that the first of the nine funeral services held for His Holiness had begun, for the "De Profundis" which the chimes had been repeating for an hour and a half, stopped and instead was heard the faint tones of the Sistine choir—beautiful even in their indistinctness. After a little this stopped, too, and then

there was nothing for the crowd to do but to watch the writhing saints on the Colonnades or the manoeuvring of the soldiers who were being reinforced continually by new lines from the neighboring barracks. Indeed, the scene soon became most military. Spirited commands were given and were spiritedly enforced, then countermanded, then amended—until one began to feel all the thrills of the battlefield. At eleven-thirty, the soldiers were six deep at the foot of the steps and a double line was formed leading to the right portal. Then the order "Avanti" was given, and no command ever issued by any general was obeyed more promptly. The whole of the Piazza moved forward in one grand rush! Each man immediately crushed himself against his neighbor and the result can never be imagined, much less described. To one looking down from the loggia, the individual bodies seemed to have ceased to be. They were amalgamated into one infinite carcass, out of which countless heads wagged helplessly, uttering strange noises.

In vain the soldiers tried to check the on-rush; the mob out-numbered them and the mob had its way! Those who were strong enough to push by, scampered up the steps in a mad race for the door. Those in the rear kept pushing forward and the crowd became more dense than before, which seemed an impossibility. The crush was terrific. Women were knocked down and trampled on! Cries of "Piano!" "Piano!" "Il bambino," "Ti ammazz' il Diavolo," "Madonna!" "Anito!" filled the air. Men and women fought and cried. A nun and a soldier were engaged in a hand-to-hand battle; a man caught at the throat of his neighbor, who was released by a blow from a soldier. For at least ten minutes the terrible struggle continued. The faces were hardly those of human beings, so drawn and ugly were they; so full of terror. But new troops forced the mob back and divided it at the point of the bayonet. The Roman mob of "bread and circus day" of the Emperor still lives in Rome, and one such spectacle as this is quite enough to convince one that Caesar knew what he was doing when he won them to his side!

Within the church an aisle of soldiers led from the door to the large chapel on the right—and here one was pushed along past the Pietà whose sad-faced Madonna looked even sadder than usual. As the Cathedral grew dimmer, the noise became louder—talking, protests against the crush which was painful even here, and above all, the shouts of the soldiers: "Avanti!" "Senza fermarsi!" "Non preglie!" Then came a glimmer of light and then the Chapel of the Sacrament, where, behind gates of bronze and doors of glass, lay Pope Benedict XV, in robes of crimson, white and gold. Crimson, too, was his funeral couch, and crimson, white and gold the uniforms of his bodyguard, who stood like statues beside the great candles whose flickering light gave to the face of the dead Pontiff a wierdly lifelike expression.

And there they were—gazing on each other through the glass doors—Life on Death and Death on Life, for the bier of the Pope was tilted at a slight angle

so that his half-opened eyes seem to gaze on his people with a look half of pity, half of wonder, at the blind struggle and sordid turmoil of the life which he had just left and from which he was now so utterly apart—his fine features, dark under the crimson mitre, seemed under the flickering light of the candles, to change their expression as each new group passed by. On one side the gates, the chaos of what we call Life with its fruitless striving and shadowy gains,—and on the other, the calm and tremendous majesty of Death, silent, inscrutable, full of unconquerable wisdom!

And so Rome paid honor to her Pope!

Again one realized that there had been an "1870." The crowd seemed to be the same all the time—clergy, foreigners and the very poor. The great mass of modern Romans kept conscientiously aloof for political reasons. All the comments on the late Pope seem to consider him first and last as a politician, despite his great work as a spiritual leader!

Tuesday, January 24th—Again rain and again a streaming multitude filing through St. Peter's, where at ten was the second of the nine funeral services, six to be in St. Peter's and three in the Sistine Chapel with only the Cardinals present. A great catafalque has been erected in the Tribune, surmounted by a triple crown, and before it is a small gilt chair hung in black. It took three acolytes thirty-five minutes to light the candles—indeed, the service began before they were through!

Mass was sung by the Sistine choir, dirty little street Arabs, many of them, but with voices like angels, and so trained that their music was like that of one single voice or instrument. Today, the Act of Death of Marchese Giacomo Paola Giovanni Battista Della Chiesa, Pope Benedict XV, the second son of Marchese Guiseppe Della Chiesa, of Genoa, was registered at Piazza Campidoglio.

Wednesday, January 25th—Last night's papers said the Crown Prince had been among those who visited St. Peter's yesterday, but this morning's papers have vigorously denied it as a "grave error utterly without foundation." The Government sent a representative to call on the Secretary of State Sunday, and on Monday, ordered the flags to be at half-mast, but that is all that it will do—or will be permitted to do! Again the political situation dominates.

Thursday, January 26th—Still the steady down-pour, and still the slow-moving crowd in St. Peter's. Until noon, that is, for at twelve the doors were closed, so that the basilica might be put in readiness for the *tumulagione*.

3.30 P. M.—The few who gathered under the dripping eaves of St. Peter's hear the *Miserère*, and knew that the *tumulagione* had begun. Nor was it difficult to imagine what was transpiring within, so generous had the papers been in their giving of the details of the ceremony from which even their representatives were excluded! The glimmer of cardinal robes against the yellow walls as the *Corteo* moved from the Chapel of the Sacrament to the Confessio, where a black-covered framework had been erected—the three caskets ready there to receive the *salma*—

the placing of the silken veil of white and gold, and the crimson purse with the coins of his pontificate in the first casket with the Pope; the sealing of the caskets by Cardinals Gasparri and Merry Del Val,—the slow descent into the crypt—the brief ceremony there,—and the depositing of the body in a cement vault under the statue of St. Longinus—all this could be followed by the changing music of the choir. And so the old order ended.

II.

The papers have given much information on all phases of his career. So far as the events are concerned, the details have been meagre enough, and all well-known, though so matter-of-fact as to have been easily forgotten.

Giacomo della Chiesa was educated for a diplomatic career at Genoa and Bologna, where he studied international law and jurisprudence. Later, when he decided to take orders, he studied in Rome at the Collegio Capranica and at the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici.

In the latter place he met Cardinal Rampolla, whom he served for many years as secretary, both when the Cardinal was at the Court of Madrid and when he was Papal Secretary of State for Pope Leo XIII.

During these years the conditions were just right for the young scholar-priest to get valuable training in diplomacy and in international law, for he was at Madrid when Spain and Germany were at outs over the Caroline Islands, and the question was referred to Pope Leo XII for arbitration. It was Rampolla's tactful handling of this delicate situation that induced Leo to take him as his Secretary of State, and it was likewise Della Chiesa's valuable service rendered here that won for him the under-Secretaryship of State. Though but little known outside the Vatican at this time, he was, nevertheless, gaining an invaluable mastery of international affairs.

When Pope Leo died in 1903, it seemed as if Monsignor Della Chiesa's career would continue as Cardinal and perhaps as Secretary of State for Rampolla, whom everyone thought would, as a matter of course, succeed Pope Leo. But, alas! Austria's veto caused the downfall of Rampolla and naturally there was no place for him in the Intransigent court of Pope Pius X, and with his fall, the career of the Monsignor seemed definitely checked.

For some years he sank into the obscurity of petty affairs of the Papal Court with whose policy he could have had but little sympathy, and then in 1907, suddenly, out of a clear sky, came the opportunity for him to secure just the training he had hitherto lacked. That year he was created Archbishop of Bologna—and here he passed through a school which perfected him for the high post he was later to fill so admirably. For there he came in contact with the outside world—with the laboring classes. Reared and matured as he had been in the close atmosphere of diplomacy, he must have felt keenly the blast of the work-a-day world, but his reaction was in the line of greater effort. He at once became interested in all popular societies, especially in popular education; his charity endeared him to all, secret as he tried to make it.

Although a man of high birth he was personally

poor and continually regretted his inability to patronize arts, although his Madonna della Pace in Santa Maria Maggiore bears witness to his fine taste in this direction.

For seven years he was at Bologna, and his policy towards the heresy of rationalism which was then so strong in that place, quite counteracted the ill-will engendered against him as Rampolla's secretary and in May, 1914, the delayed Cardinalship was his.

The following August, immediately after the outbreak of the war, Pius X died, and September 3d, Cardinal Della Chiesa was chosen to succeed him. It was a moment fertile in possibilities for his success or failure. The Papacy was bound to be thrust into prominence by the pressure of conflicting forces. The situation called for a statesman and diplomat with a liberal mind and delicate touch, and these both nature and experience had given this man. The very title he chose foreshadowed his policy, although at the time it seemed to be merely a pious and courteous act to the memory of Benedict XIV, also Archbishop of Bologna. But how curiously alike they seem today!—aristocratic, deeply read, liberal minded, austere and ascetic. Alike, too, in their careers for as Benedict XIV was the reconciler of the eighteenth century, so Benedict XV, despite his apparent failures, will be known as the reconciler of the twentieth.

After he had expressed his ideals in his pontificate, he expressed them in his famous Peace Note of August, 1917, addressed to the Governments of the World, appealing to them to settle on some agreement by which permanent peace could be secured.

In the beginning of the war, and indeed, during its continuance, both sides, all nations, wanted his intervention. Each contestant begged for the papal staff to beat his enemy, and Catholics of all nations united in denouncing his failure to rebuke the other side—an indisputable evidence that the Papal power still lives. But here he showed his wisdom and expressed through his decision, his ideals. Had he taken sides, he would have forfeited his privilege as a common spiritual father, counteracted the effects of his charity and broken the bond that bound fragments of the warring nations together. And, too, he would have surrendered the attitude he had taken from the first—that of the judge who before summing up, throws into the scale every shred of evidence in favor of the suspect. Had he taken sides, he would have been a spiritual failure—a historical failure—a failure from every point of view.

In the beginning of the war, President Wilson announced his intention of being the spectator—*outside* the conflict. Pope Benedict showed that his first purpose was, as he himself defined it to be later on—to be *above* the conflict.

His second purpose was to spend himself in the cause of the suffering and afflicted, to strive to do good continually to everyone in every possible way and that without exception of persons, without distinction of nationality or religion. He recognized and accepted the great opportunity of bringing help, consolation, liberty and even life to many thousands of men and women, wounded prisoners of war, interned

civilians and non-combatants throughout the whole of Europe. And to his honor be it said that no Government, not even that of the Turks, turned a deaf ear. At the end of the first year and a half, 150,000 wounded prisoners of all ranks owed their speedy and unexpected deliverance from captivity to his action.

His third purpose was not only to bring peace, but to set up the permanent machinery of peace, and what a pity it is that he has had to leave this work scarcely begun.

He never allowed his charities to be known if he could help it, but despite his efforts at secrecy, enough is known to let us know that he poured out even more than his pontifical income was supposed to be. One million lire he gave to the famine sufferers in Russia; over 500,000 lire he gave this last month to Germany's *new poor*, the educated classes.

One distinctive honor has been his, the result of his charity, an honor which no Pope has ever been accorded before. On December 11, his statue was unveiled in Santa Sofia, in Constantinople, the cost of which had been defrayed by Moslems, Jews, Greeks, etc. Not a single Roman Catholic subscription was asked or received. It was an expression of the gratitude of the Turks for his charity to them, during and after the war.

Another result of his Pontificate should be noted. Before the war fourteen states had ambassadors at the Papal Court and there were five Papal nuncios abroad; now there are twenty-five of each.

III.

The great question of the papacy, politically speaking, is the relation between the Vatican and the Quirinal, and here Pope Benedict's work was of great importance.

Under him the Italian Catholics first openly entered political life with the new Popular Catholic party, founded January, 1919, and now they have 108 out of 535 members in Parliament. From the first, the Vatican declined to recognize this party officially or to assume any responsibility for its doing. But as its activity, especially in the electoral field, is mostly directed by the clergy, as Don Sturzo, the party secretary, is a priest, the Vatican's absence seems to be only apparent.

A group in the Vatican, led by Cardinal Merry del Val, generally out of sympathy with the late Pope, opposed any co-operation of the Papacy with a party not strictly Catholic—the members of the new party are not bound to be of the Faith—but it seems fairly certain that the Right wing of the party at least, is under Vatican control.

This group seems to be playing its role in the very difficult Parliamentary game in the Italian Chamber. Three members of the Cabinet are from its numbers, one being the very important head of the Department of Justice, and this has given rise to the ridiculously exaggerated statement that the real head of the government is Don Sturzo, or in other words, the Pope. However, it is certain that the political activities of the Catholics under Benedict XV have greatly contributed to changing the face of the whole Roman

question, particularly as the Liberals of the old anti-Roman type—avowed enemies of reconciliation between Church and State—have almost disappeared. And the changing attitude on the side of each faction is seen by the public discussion started last year in the Italian press as to the best way of solving the Roman question. In August, 1921, the results of this discussion were summed up in the Green Book. While the Vatican denied that this had been issued with its consent, still the fact remains that it had joined in the debate through its official organ, "*L'Osservatore Romano*."

It seems evident that the old claims of temporal power and territorial control are practically dropped, the only condition necessary for agreement, seemingly, is that such a free state be established as would permit the Papacy to carry on international activities in full freedom. For this, limited territory, including only the Vatican cluster of buildings is deemed necessary. The discussion, however, stopped here, but it is most important as a revelation of the new spirit by which the two sides seem animated. And this is the great question on which the influence of Benedict XV has been most favorably felt in Italy. There is no doubt whatever that reconciliation between Church and State has been his political aim. And the majority of the Italians are hoping that his successor will continue his policy. The time may not yet be ripe for accord, but Benedict XV has certainly paved the way.

IV.

Thursday, February 2d—Today at 4.30, the Cardinals entered into conclave to choose a new Pontiff.

The Sistine Chapel is the conclave chamber. Anyone might visit it today until the "*Extra Omnes*" at 4.30, but there was but little to see—a porcelain stove with a shabby tin pipe which pierced the wall and prolonged its shabbiness some meters above the roof—a huge urn for receiving votes—an extra altar or two, and stalls for the Cardinals—fifty-three—as the Americans are not here and four others are ill. The College is not full, containing only sixty-one members out of a possible seventy. All week the papers have been discussing possible candidates and factional platforms. Today, Cardinals Ratti, La Fontaine and Laurenti have been mentioned as the most possible candidates.

The factional leaders, Cardinals Gasparri and Merry del Val, are generally thought to be out of the running. Prince Chigi is marshal of the conclave, this office being hereditary, and his banner is floating over the bronze door. Four times each day, doors open to receive food, sent for the Cardinals, and this is searched to see that no messages are concealed therein.

Friday, February 3d, 12.20 A. M.—The first smoke—and of course it is black! No one expected anything else, and the crowd in the Piazza is there just to see the "first," and there is little or no excitement. The Liberal press today seems to be urging the election of an Intransigent, out of hatred to a Catholic Party.

The approaching Government crisis is pushing all

Vatican news far from the front pages of the papers, but there is really little news to give—mostly speculation. Cardinal von Rossimi, of Holland, head of the College of Propaganda, is today the favored candidate.

5.35 P. M.—Again a crowd—a little larger this time for the papers say that some of the Cardinals have promised a page for Saturday. Small boys are selling, or trying to sell, pictures of Pope Benedict—but there is no market for them even though the price has dropped from a lira to a soldo!

But the smoke is black! It seemed white for a full minute and everyone shouted: "E fatto! E fatto!" And then it became unmistakably black, and the crowd dispersed, saying: "Domani." Fortune-tellers are predicting that his name will begin with *L* and there are four *L*'s, two of whom, Laurenti and La Fontaine, have been mentioned as having good chances.

Saturday, 11.25 A. M.—Again the black smoke! Again a disappointed *Ah!* Again a hope that tomorrow we will have a Pope.

5.25 P. M.—Again the smoke is black! And again an interested, but apparently not disappointed crowd, leaves the Piazza, choking up the narrow streets leading to the river and then reappearing to file like black flies across the bridges.

Sunday, February 5th, 12.15 P. M.—The Piazza is crowded. The sun is shining on the fountains, and the air is like April rather than February. The morning papers are asking if the new pope will be a Pius XI or a Benedict XVI. Will it not be better for the new Italy to have an Intransigent who in his adherence to a lost cause will be utterly out of politics, or will it be better to have the reconciliation? *Chi lo sa?* But at all events he must be an Italian. No foreigner could be trusted with a situation so vitally national.

Ah! the smoke—and black again. What is delaying the decision? This Pope is certainly not being elected by inspiration, nor yet, it seems, by compromise.

Sunday, 5 P. M.—The largest crowd yet. Surely there is no one left today for the Pincio or for the Carso. But it is a well-dressed and well-behaved crowd, and a gay-hearted one, too. And how it laughed when a balloon vender lost his huge cluster of gay balls, that went sailing up into the air! And how quickly the laughter turned into a pitying "Ah, poveretto!" as they saw his frantic efforts to regain them. A brilliant crowd, too, with a trailing line of red seminarists and with bright-colored umbrellas—and the loggias adjoining the colonnades are crowded.

And the smoke is black, undeniably black from the first moment. "Non c'è un papa"—and Sunday has come and gone!

Monday, 11.20—Grey dripping skies and the Piazza covered with a blanket of black umbrellas! Surely no white smoke will appear today—and the Piazza is scarcely half full. But there are many on the Loggias, under dripping umbrellas.

11.25—The smoke appears—gray—neither black nor white—hardly visible. A faint uncertain cry of "Bianco," is heard; then a more decided one of "No, nero"—but no one can tell which it is—and a few

file off down the Bargo Nuovo! But, look—a Swiss guard is passing the window. And he is in "high" uniform. And two of the "Noble Guard" are on the loggia. Now the crowd there is nodding to those below. The smoke was white after all, and "E fatto" and a cry, still a little uncertain, goes up from the crowd which is being augmented all around the edges.

11.45—The doors of the central loggia of the façade open; a group of young men in court dress appear. And then some attendants with a great roll which they lower over the balcony! The papal arms on white and crimson velvet! "E fatto! E fatto!" Now there is no uncertainty in the cry.

12.15—Acolytes with candles appear! Now a cross of gold, now others in red carrying a book! Now a Cardinal in red robes of state. A terrific shout now from the Piazza, but those on the Colonnade are strangely silent! Three times His Eminence raises his hand for silence before the shouting ceases. Then a hush—absolute hush and "Habemus Pontificem"—again a shout—and the rest is quite lost. But someone has heard and the word is passed along—Cardinal Ratti of Milan—and he has chosen the name of Pius XI.

Pius XI! And he was a conciliatory candidate! Yet he owed his appointment as head of the Vatican Library to Pius X, and this was the beginning of his rise to power! How confused it all seems!

But the Cardinal has motioned to the people to wait. Can it be that the Pope will appear? Impossible! Not since 1870 has a Pontiff blessed a crowd outside St. Peter's! But the tapestry has not been removed: the doors to the basilica are closed: soldiers have appeared as if by magic across the steps to guard the entrance. There is a stir in the loggia. Again the cross of gold and the acolytes—and cardinals—and His Holiness! He is giving his benediction to the crowd kneeling there in the rain! A new order has indeed begun. And the new Pope—the son of a silk-weaver of Milan has been chosen to succeed the son of a Marchese!

Thursday, February 9th—Today a solemn proclamation was issued to the religious orders announcing the election of Achille Ratti as Pius XI and for half an hour at noon every church bell in the city was rung. The papers are interpreting the benediction in different ways: Some say it is a reassertion of the power of the papacy—the blessing of the army of Italy; others say it is a sign of good will and conciliation, and His Holiness has issued a note saying it has no significance, but the spiritual blessing for the whole world.

V.

Sunday, February 12, 2.30 A. M.—Off for St. Peter's to see the Coronation of the Pope. More tickets have been issued than the maximum number of persons the church will hold, so it behooves one to get there early or be crushed in the rear ranks. The city is as light as day. The streets are deserted except for occasional soldiers doing sentinel duty. All is as quiet as a dream. The only sound is the plashing of fountains in the moonlight. Surely Rome never looked as lovely as this in daylight. All her

garish self-assertiveness has disappeared, and she lies bathed in a beauty none knew she possessed.

Already a few are waiting on the steps of St. Peter's. Not a sound breaks the tremendous stillness. Occasionally a light flashes on in the Vatican. People come straggling across the Piazza by ones and twos—never more—and in utter silence.

5 A. M.—Here come the soldiers, emerging from the Colonnades like grey ghosts! How very large they are. Perhaps they have remembered that first Monday! Silently they pass through the silent crowd which falls back and gives them place near the doorway. Some English women try to start a sprightly conversation with the soldiers next to them; one even holds out a hundred lire note as a bribe for a place nearer the door; but conversation and bribe pass unnoticed.

5.45—The curtains behind the iron gates have been raised—and lights have come on behind the doors. The crowd is getting restless: the pushing has begun, and sharp cries ring out from those in front.

6.00—The gates open. For two minutes there is a crushing of human bodies against the pillars and gates, then the soldiers bar the way and admit the crowd by twos. Inside the church there is an instant's pause at the magnificence of the scene, then a scurry for places, then a more leisurely examination of the details of the brilliant scene, more like a ball-room than a church, unless one catches a glimpse of the brilliantly lighted High Altar! Red damask covers the marble pillars; red velvet, the gold clouds of Bernini's shrine for the Apostle's chair. Flowers are entwined around the balustrade of the Confessio, and huge urns of flowers crown the pedestals. Gaily-flowered velvet carpet covers the Tribune where are the seats of the Cardinals, all draped in velvet. By each corner of the four great pillars, two balconies have been erected for the diplomatic corps and the Milanese friends. St. Peter's statue is draped in red and gold brocade, and on the head is a triple crown. The doors of the Confessio are open, showing the Reliquary of gold; Cellini's St. Peter and St. Paul's communion service and crucifix, all of silver gilt are on the High Altar. The pillars which separate the nave from aisles are connected by draperies of red, and no one is allowed back of them. The main aisle is divided into sections on each side of a small central passage—small in comparison—and here the people are crowding for places.

There are Swiss guard in blue and orange, Swiss lancers with steel helmet and cuirass and red velvet bloomers; gentlemen of the court in black with white ruffs and red stockings; soldiers in blue and red uniforms, soldiers in red coats, white trousers and black fur hats, priests in simple cassocks, friars, canons, acolytes, all hurrying to and fro. Near the Altar is the papal banner of white and gold.

8.15—The church is packed and the doors closed. Outside late comers are pleading for admission, but pleading in vain. Inside, the church is growing hotter and hotter, and already men and women are being carried out—fainting.

9.00—The Mass was to begin at 8.30, but the priests and acolytes are still carrying neatly folded bundles of vestments down the aisles and workmen in grey smocks, hammer in hand, are hurrying down the aisle to complete or alter some detail of the preparation.

9.10—A blare of music from the band in the loggia over the portal—a sort of "Hail to the Chief" march, and the Palatine Guard march down the aisle. It takes ten minutes to get them placed properly. How strange these sharp military commands sound in the church.

9.30—Nothing to do but wait—and it is *so* hot, and everyone is pushing so! The band again. A line of bishops in grey fur and violet silk; a flash of red—the Cardinals are coming—Cardinal Mercier receiving as many cheers as if *he* were the Pope. A shout "Eviva!" and the Pope appears, borne aloft by red-garbed knights (or their papal equivalent) on an ivory chair, all in white, with ostrich plumes waving on either side. "Eviva! Eviva il Papa!" "Eviva Pio XI!" How pale he looks! "Eviva! Eviva il papa nuovo!" The noise is deafening. Never does he lower his hand. From the door to the Altar there is continual benediction. "Eviva! Eviva il Santo Padre."

The Corteo is gay enough with the red robes of the Cardinals and the scarlet, white and steel uniform of the Body-guard. How splendid these latter are in their shiny helmets and horsehair plumes!

They all pass to a side altar, where there is a short service, then silence during which time all discipline is relaxed. Those not too crowded to breathe try to talk to their neighbors. Gentlemen of the court and soldiers stand in the aisle in small groups, engaged in most diverting conversation. Priests hurry by with red silk bags full of vestments—like laundry bags they are and their contents spill out and trail along the floor. Then a sharp command: every man is in his place in the twinkling of an eye—the Corteo reappears and goes to the High Altar. There is a burst of song from the Sistine choir and the Mass has begun.

2 P. M.—The Mass is just ended. How long it seemed. Many have left, but the heat and the crowding are as bad as before. The Canopy is coming from behind the High Altar. A page brings the Triple Crown up the aisle on a satin cushion; the Pope steps to the platform erected before the Confessio; a Cardinal takes his place beside him, crown in hand. "Accipe . . ." and the rest is lost in the shouts of the crowd. The coronation is over. The Corteo proceeds down the aisle—scarlet body-guard, Cardinals in white—with the beautiful vestments of the Greek and Syrian bishops to give a touch of color—then the new Pontiff—looking as if he lacked the strength even to make the sign of the cross—down the aisle they pass—the people shouting themselves hoarse—out on to the Balcony to bless the throng in the Piazza—and a new era has begun!

The Woodland Indians

BY HOWARD C. HILL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOL.

No universally accepted classification of the Indian tribes of North America exists. For most purposes, however, a convenient and trustworthy grouping is a combination of geographical and cultural characteristics. A division of the aborigines located north of Mexico on such a basis furnishes nine important culture areas: Arctic, Subarctic, Northwest coast, Great Basin, California, Plains, Southwest, Southeast, and Eastern Woodland. As is evident by reference to the map, these groups correspond roughly to the great physical divisions of North America.

Upon the above basis the Milwaukee Public Museum has planned and partially executed an Indian exhibit, which, when finished, will be one of the most extensive in the world. Of the nine groups planned, seven are now complete; as follows: Eastern Woodland—Algonquian and Iroquoian; Northwest coast—Kwakiutl; California—Pomo; Great Basin—Paiute; Southwest—Hopi; Arctic—Eskimo.¹ Each group is supplied with a large mural painting showing some important historical event in the early contact of the whites with the tribe in question.

The group to be described in this article depicts one of the two great divisions of what is commonly known as the Woodland Indians. These Indians comprised, for the most part, tribes of Algonquian and Iroquoian stock. In general, they occupied the heavily wooded portion of eastern North America extending from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from about the thirty-fourth parallel north far towards the Arctic circle. Owing to the historical importance of each stock and to striking differences in their culture, the Museum has devoted two groups to the Eastern Woodland Indians, one to the Algonquians and the other to the Iroquois. This article deals with the Algonquian.

The Algonquian tribes were the most numerous and, from the standpoint of the early whites, the most important of the natives of North America. With the

exception of the Iroquois in New York, the English colonists came into contact almost solely with the Algonquians. Most of the early Indian tales relate to them. From them came the famous Indians Powhatan, Pocahontas, Opechancanough, Massasoit, Philip, Pontiac, Tecumseh, the Prophet, Red Jacket and Black Hawk. Acquaintance with the habits and culture of the Algonquians taught the pioneers many of the secrets of successful wilderness life. It is from them and the Iroquois that the popular notion of Indian life is largely derived.

As is the case with all primitive races, environment was the vital factor in determining the culture of the Woodland Indians. The wide differences in latitude in the area which they occupied caused important variations in culture, but beneath such variations there were certain striking characteristics held in common by practically all the Woodland tribes. The most notable of these common traits were: First, the wide use of birch bark in the making of canoes, wigwams and baskets; second, the extensive use of buckskin for clothing; third, the practice of agriculture to a somewhat limited extent, especially the growing of maize, beans, tobacco, and pumpkins; and fourth, strong development of the Manitou and other religious ideas.²

To illustrate the culture of the Algonquians concretely, the Museum chose the Ojibwas, or Chippewas, of the lake region in northern Wisconsin as subjects for the group. The Ojibwas gave less attention to agriculture than the more southern Algonquians, devoting most of their time to hunting and fishing and depending largely upon such wild vegetation as abounded in their vicinity. By far the most bountiful of such gifts of nature was wild rice, which flourished in rank abundance in the numerous lakes and rivers of the region and which served as a center for the industrial life of the tribe.³



FIG. A.—Landing of Jean Nicolle in Wisconsin, July, 1634.

In view of the attractiveness of this "Indian Paradise," as the upper lake region has been repeatedly styled, it is small wonder that it should have become a prize for which hostile tribes warred valiantly. The fiercest and most protracted of such struggles was that between the Algonquian Ojibwas and the Souian Dakotas. For over two hundred years these rivals fought bitterly for the rice fields, until finally in 1862 the Dakotas, who had gradually been forced westward by their redoubtable foes, were moved by the government to the valley of the Minnesota river and possession remained with the Ojibwas.

Considering then the importance wild rice played in the history and economy of the northern Algonquians, as well as the interest the group would arouse locally, the Museum wisely selected the wild-rice gathering Ojibwas of northern Wisconsin as representatives of the Algonquian stock.

Within a large, glass-protected case is a number of life-size figures representing Ojibwa Indians engaged in various activities. The case also contains sections of two full-size wigwams, part of a birch-bark canoe, and several other appropriate objects. The floor is covered with sand, leaves, and artificial grass. On the wall at the rear, is a painting depicting on the left a hillside and on the right a lake bordered with woods and marshes (Figures B and C). The many-colored leaves and the state of the vegetation indicate that the season is autumn. The arrangement of the figures in the foreground is cunningly contrived so that they blend into the landscape painted at the rear and give a vivid, realistic representation of a typical Indian scene. The illustrations accompanying this article are from photographs of the exhibits.

In the background of the group is a marsh-bordered lake containing extensive fields of wild rice (Figure C). On the shore stand two wigwams made of mats of rushes and covered with birch bark (Figure B). In front of the bearskin door of the rear wigwam sits an old arrow-maker busily making arrows; his style of hair dressing proclaims him a brave. Within the front wigwam, the interior of which is shown in Figure A, sits an Indian mother making a birch bark basket. Leaning against the wall is her little pappoose bound tightly to its bed of soft fur on the cradle board. Within reach are the various materials used by the women in their manual arts: a roll of birch bark for basketry, a ball of bast fiber for woven bags, strings and rushes for mats. At her right, suspended by thongs of buckskin, hangs an unfinished rush mat. Above her head is a woven storage bag. On the wall hang two wooden spoons. A small wooden bowl is on the mat-covered floor. The entire interior presents a typical, well-furnished Indian home. The illustration also shows the plan and method of construction of a well-built wigwam.

The most interesting features of the group, however, concern the work of the wild rice gatherers. To understand these features as well as to comprehend the importance of wild rice in the economic life of these Indians, some description of this remarkable

wild cereal and the processes used in its harvesting is necessary.

Wild rice is a beautiful, aquatic, annual plant. Early in June it appears at the surface of the water. At maturity the stalks vary in height from two to twelve feet above the water's edge. Seen at a distance, the rice beds seem to be low, green islands bearing fields of wheat, or maize. The seeds usually ripen in September, the fruit heads at that time having a slightly purplish tinge.

Late in August or early in September, or as Gordon puts it,

"In the golden-hued Wazu-pe-wee—the moon when the wild rice is gathered;

When the leaves on the tall sugar-tree are as red as the breast of the robin,"⁴

the squaws, usually in pairs, go to the rice fields in small canoes to tie the stalks in small bunches, or sheaves. Fiber, or bast, of basswood bark is used for this purpose.⁵ Since it is impossible to paddle the canoe through the thick, heavy growth of rice, one of the squaws uses a forked pole to push it along, such as is seen in the prow of the canoe in Figure C, while the other with a curved, sickle-shaped stick gathers in a large quantity of stalks and, holding them with one hand, rapidly winds the bast around them, beginning at the lower end, for a distance of about two feet; then, bending the top over, she ties it to the upright part and the sheaf is complete. In this way a row of sheaves is formed on both sides of the canoe, the completed work presenting uniformity and beauty. Two or three weeks later the squaws harvest the rice by stripping off the bast windings and shaking the ripe, black kernels into the canoe. The rice is then dried slowly in the sun or over a fire.⁶

The rice which is thus harvested after it has fully ripened is considered a great delicacy. The process is so laborious, however, that an insufficient quantity for the winter's needs can be secured in this way. Accordingly, when the rice is still in the milk stage, but fully filled and about ready to harden, the gatherers go out and, while one of the squaws sits in the stern and poles the canoe through the field, the other, by means of a "whipping stick," gathers in the stalks, bends them over the side of the canoe and, with another "whipping stick," beats the kernels into the canoe. Since the kernels come with the shuck adhering, the rice is parched in a kettle in order to dry it and partially separate the kernel from the shuck. It is then ready for threshing and winnowing.

With few exceptions threshing is the work of the men and boys, all the preceding labor, as a rule, being done by women and children. Holes large enough to contain from a peck to a bushel are dug in the ground. They are lined with deer or moose hide. An Indian, steadying himself by a stake driven in the ground, or by props as shown in Figure B, tramps out the grain. "It is only fair to say that he tries to have a new pair of buckskin moccasins for this work," adds Jenks, "but sometimes buckskin is scarce" and, in that case, the threshing is done barefooted.⁷

A distinct line between threshing and winnowing exists only because the two processes are marked by a division of labor. "The Indian silently stalks into the labors of rice harvesting when the threshing begins, and when it is completed he silently stalks out again, leaving the woman to lift up the pile of mixed kernels and chaff in order that the wind—nature's fanning mill—may separate them."⁸ For this purpose the squaw uses a birch bark tray. Holding it in front of her and shaking it in a peculiar manner, she quickly separates the chaff from the grain (Fig. B).

Wild rice is more nutritious than any other native food to which the Indian had access; this includes maize, strawberries, cranberries, sturgeon, brook trout, dried buffalo, and turkey. It is also more nutritious than any of our common cereals such as wheat, oats, or rice. "The Indian diet of this grain, combined with maple sugar and with bison, deer, and other meats," says Jenks, "was probably richer than that of the average American family today."

The rice was prepared for eating in a variety of ways. It was commonly used in stews of venison,

bear, fish, dog, and soups of all kinds, dishes of which the Indian was very fond. Neill records in 1840, after one of the numerous encounters between the Ojibwas and the Dakotas that the victors, the Ojibwas, "also cooked some of the flesh of the Sioux with their rice."⁹ Sometimes the cooked rice was eaten plain; sometimes with maple sugar or other sweets; sometimes seasoned with whortle berries. It was frequently roasted and eaten dry on hunting trips. Jenks says that "fully 90 per cent of the white people who have eaten wild rice are fond of it,"¹⁰ while according to Barrett, "Wild rice and pure maple sugar, combined with venison, is a dish fit for any king."¹¹

The vital importance of wild rice to the Indians of the upper lake region appears in many ways. More than 160 places in the Great Lakes district bear names of Indian origin synonymous with wild rice. The completion of the wild rice harvest is celebrated by feasts, games, and religious ceremonies, sometimes curiously commingled. Indian mythology contains many stories explaining the origin of wild rice and illustrating its importance. During the seasons when



FIG. B.—Wild Rice Harvesters of the Upper Lakes.

the rice crop failed famine decimated the tribe. One point always insisted upon by these Indians when about to be located on new reservations was the presence of rice fields. Jenks believes northern Wisconsin and eastern Minnesota—the section in which wild rice grew most abundantly—sustained an Indian population equal to all the rest of the Northwest Territory combined. “Wild rice,” he adds, “was a chief means which made possible this greater population.”¹² If true—and weighty evidence supports the thesis—this is eloquent testimony to the part this grain played in the Indian food supply.¹³

There remains to be considered the large mural painting above the group. This portrays the landing of Jean Nicollet in Wisconsin in 1634, the first white man to set foot upon the soil of the great Northwest.

It was about 1620 that rumors first came to Champlain of a nation to the west called “People of the Sea.” This race, it was said, had come from a land by the shore of a salt sea far to the west. In his ignorance of American geography, it is not strange that Champlain should have concluded that the people described must be either Chinese or Tartars from

the eagerly-sought Orient. Events prevented Champlain from immediately carrying out his desire to visit the strangers. Years passed by and, finding it impossible to go himself, he finally delegated the mission to Jean Nicollet.

Accompanied by seven Algonkins,¹⁴ Nicollet pushed his way “over a route full of horrors” up the Ottawa, through Lake Huron, up the Straits of Mackinac, along the wooded shores of Lake Michigan, to the head of Green Bay, where, after a journey of well-nigh a thousand miles, he landed at Red Banks, Wisconsin, in July, 1634.

Expecting to meet a Chinese mandarin at the end of his journey, Nicollet with praiseworthy forethought, had taken along “a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors.” No mandarin was visible, but either because he really expected to be ushered into the presence of a Chinese monarch, or because he was unwilling to forego the satisfaction of wearing his magnificent garment, or because he understood the value of stately ceremonial in the eyes of the Indians, or perhaps from a sense of humor, Nicollet decked himself



FIG. C.—Ojibwa Indian Threshing Wild Rice.

in his rainbow garb and, carrying a pistol in each hand, went forward followed by his seven faithful Algonkins to meet a few half-naked Winnebagoes. For the Winnebagoes, a Souian tribe, were apparently "the People," who years before had crossed the Mississippi, "the big water," and had made their way eastward to Green Bay into a region occupied almost entirely by Algonquian tribes. Hoping doubtless to impress these children of the forest with his supernatural power, Nicollet fired his pistols in the air and greatly astonished and alarmed them. It is no wonder that "the women and children fled, at the sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands; for thus they called the two pistols that he held."¹³

This is the scene pictured in the mural painting (Figure A). There is no authority for the presence of the white man shown just behind Nicollet; otherwise, the representation is fairly accurate.

After this regal and belligerent display, Nicollet, concealing whatever disappointment he may have felt at the absence of Chinese nobles, doffed his oriental garments, made friendly overtures to the natives, and was received by them most hospitably.¹⁶ When the news of his coming reached the neighboring tribes, some four or five thousand men assembled to meet the Manitou, "the wonderful man." Weeks of festivity followed during which Nicollet doubtless partook liberally of the many feasts of badger, venison, and wild rice given in his honor. Then, after journeying some ninety miles up the Fox river and entering into treaties with a half dozen of the tribes round about, he returned to Canada.

Such is the story of the first explorer of the Northwest territory. In addition to its romantic interest, the expedition was important in promoting the expansion of France in the New World. It is also significant as one of the many illustrations of the way in which the lure of the Orient drew men into the wilderness and thus helped open America to European civilization.

¹ It will be noticed that no group is planned for the Indians of the Southeast. Culturally, these Indians belong to the Caribbean and Central American region; they will be provided for accordingly.

² Milwaukee Museum, descriptive placard; Farrand, *Basis of American History*.

³ The most important of the other tribes in the upper lake region were the Miami, Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Menominee—all of Algonquian stock—and the Winnebago of Souian stock. The culture of each of these tribes,

while in Wisconsin at least, was largely dominated by wild rice, which grows abundantly in this region. The chief authority on the wild rice gathering Indians is the excellent monograph by Jenks, "The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," published in the *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, part 2.

⁴ *Legends of the Northwest*, 58-59; quoted by Jenks, *op. cit.*, 1057.

⁵ The present tense is used because the Indians in the reservations of Wisconsin continue to harvest wild rice. According to all accounts, they employ much the same methods their ancestors used centuries ago. Jenks bases much of his monograph on personal investigations among these Indians. According to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Indians in Wisconsin, living on reservations in 1920 numbered 10,319 out of a total population of 2,632,067.

⁶ If allowed to ripen naturally, the rice falls into the water at the slightest shock; hence the tying into sheaves to hold the grain while ripening. According to Hennepin, however, the reason for tying the stalks was to prevent the birds from devouring all the grain. Other authorities say the purpose was to make the harvesting easier. Sometimes the sheaves are made by merely twisting the stalks together. Naturally, wide variations in harvesting occur. In some cases, the entire fruit head is cut off and taken to the shore for threshing; in others, the stalks are cut in bunches half the size of a sheaf of wheat and brought to shore. In a few instances the men and not the women gather the grain. Jenks, *loc. cit.*; S. A. Barrett, personal observation.

⁷ Jenks, 1066. Variations in procedure appear constantly. For example, sticks like flails or churn dashers are sometimes used for threshing.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1086.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ S. A. Barrett, conversation with the writer.

¹² Jenks, 1113.

¹³ Wild rice was of much value to the early white settlers. As early as 1766, Carver writes of it: "In future periods it will be of great service to the infant colonies." In 1805, Pike describes the stores of the Northwest Company's fort at Leech Lake as including "500 bushels of wild rice." In 1820, the *Detroit Gazette* says: "The fish and the wild rice are the chief sustenance of the traders, and without them the trade could scarcely be carried on." Jenks, 1101 et seq.

¹⁴ "Algonkin" was the name of an Indian tribe of Algonquian stock which lived in the vicinity of the Ottawa river.

¹⁵ *Jesuit Relations*, XXIII, 279.

¹⁶ According to the account in the *Jesuit Relations*, *loc. cit.*, upon which the above description is based, it seems that Nicollet made overtures to the natives two days before he landed at Red Banks, Wisconsin. If so, the display with the pistols and the mandarin's robe portrayed in the painting of the exhibit, was doubtless to impress the Indians with his splendor and might, and as a result secure a successful outcome in his mission of extending the authority of France.

Ghandi and His Policy

BY A. V. BROWN, PICTON, ONTARIO.

Mohandas Karamchad Ghandi, Indian Nationalist leader, is no vulgar agitator. Very possibly he may rank as the most remarkable man in the Eastern World and certainly he is the most dangerous foe the British have ever found in India. Ghandi was educated in England where he studied law and other things. He steeped himself in our literature and

learned to write and speak perfect English. Even as a student he lived on rice and water and this in spite of the fact that he was a very rich man. After practicing law for a short period in Bombay, Ghandi went to South Africa when the Boer War broke out and there organized an Indian Red Cross, built a native hospital in Natal, and led his countrymen in stretcher-

bearing work of the most difficult and dangerous kind. Formerly he had been a great admirer of British institutions and a firm friend of British rule in India.

After his return to India, Ghandi gave up law and betook himself to religion. He is a great religious, and a veritable saint, according to the Indian standard. He has long since given away all his money to the poor, wears the humblest dress, goes around barefoot, and on the railway he travels third-class. His contempt for wealth and luxury give him immense prestige among his countrymen who cherish the ascetic ideal.

This man's methods can only be understood by keeping the saintliness of his character in mind. How for instance does he propose to overthrow British rule in India? Not by violence, not by the sword, but mainly by a religious and moral revival. This seems a strange programme for a political agitator. The British are to be conquered by a weaponless revolt, by soul force. And yet nearly all Indians and even many Englishmen believe in this man's sincerity. Col. Wedgwood, an Englishman, and of course a strenuous political opponent of Ghandi, says of him: "He is as serious as a child, and as pure. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ: and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers." And it is interesting to note that Ghandi bases his creed and ideals largely on the New Testament, "For I say unto you, resist not evil"; "love your enemies." He professes to love the British while he abominates their government.

This aureole of sanctity has a wonderful charm for the Indian people for they are intensely religious, more so, it is to be feared than ourselves, in spite of our export of religion to their country. The young Britisher in India, when through with his work, strolls about or plays tennis or golf, but the young Indian goes home to pray. They regard us as hopelessly carnal and of the earth, earthy, and as a race of mammon-worshippers. Ghandi had lived in London, where according to the Bishop of London's statement, less than eighteen per cent of the people ever see the inside of a church; he had seen Western civilization and he opposed British rule not on the ground that it was expensive or harsh, but on the ground that it was essentially evil, sinful, satanic.

What are Ghandi's methods of fulfilling his ideals. He seeks, first of all, the abolition of caste. He is bitterly opposed to this time-honored outrage. Three out of every ten in India are untouchable—are outcasts. Ghandi shakes hands with untouchables as freely as others—he ignores caste—for he believes that India cannot find her soul till the pariahs are released from their social chain. Ghandi's second article in his programme, as set forth by himself, is the removal of the drink evil. His indictment against England is that she ships vast quantities of liquor to India and sells it there. So even the drink traffic is employed to pour the poison of race hatred into the veins of the people of India. The third plan of Ghandi is the enrollment of his professed followers,

already ten million in number, and known by their white caps.

One of the quaintest and to many the absurdest of Ghandi's notions is a return to the simple life of olden times—a flight from the present infernal civilization, its railways and factories, its noise and smoke, into the golden age of the Vedas, back to India's glorified past. To a people so proud of their traditions—their long array of mighty shadows—as the Indians—this appeal of Ghandi comes with uncanny force. The spinning wheel is to be restored. Already there are two hundred thousand spinning wheels in northern India and these were mostly made under the new propaganda. The British trade in cloth has already suffered considerably since so many Indians have started to make their own clothes.

All this is part of Ghandi's great scheme of non-co-operation or boycott of everything British. At the beginning of last year, the year 1921, he was touring India and saying to his hearers: "You can paralyze British rule without shedding a drop of blood. Do not buy anything of British manufacture, keep your children out of any school or university that receives government support, keep away from the elections, keep away from the law-courts; let anyone who has received any medal or honour from the British Government, hand it back, and let any Indian who holds any position under the Government resign it at once. If you will do this, then by the end of 1921 the British Indian Government will be at an end."

The Indian leader preached his doctrine with all the power of his wonderful eloquence—going up and down the land—and wherever he went the fiery breath of his oratory left behind an arid waste of non-co-operation. Undoubtedly he had some success. Great bonfires were made of foreign-made clothes, lawyers abandoned lucrative practices, thousands of cases have been taken out of the law courts, and over twenty-five titles of honour have been renounced. Still, for all, the fabric of the British Indian Empire at the end of 1921 was still standing. It was rooted more firmly than Ghandi had imagined. And besides he had asked too much. The people were not equal to such wholesale self-denial.

Ghandi has recently served two demands upon the Government, namely: to compensate fully for the wrongs done to the Indians in the Punjab riots and to restore to Turkey her pre-war boundaries and especially the holy cities of Islam, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. If these demands are not complied with, he will play his next trump card, mass disobedience or the refusal to pay taxes. Within the last day or two, however, comes the report that Ghandi realizes that the time for civil disobedience has not come and that he has lost thereby some influence with the extremists of his party.

How will it all end? When the tempest rages the oak clings with sterner and stronger grasp to the earth. Can the mystic arts of Ghandi raise the whirlwind that can drive Britain out of India? Time will tell. But we may fitly close with a few words from Lloyd George, through whom the Empire of Greater Britain utters its soul and purpose: "We

accepted the great trust as a people when we occupied India and we invested ourselves with this trust to the exclusion of all others. We cannot divest ourselves of that trust without shame and without dishonour. There is nothing between India and anarchy except British rule."

These are the words of a great statesman, a great thinker; they are the words of a sincere friend of

the Empire, a sincere friend of India, and of humanity.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Since the above article was set in type, Ghandi has been arrested by the English authorities on a charge of sedition. He was found guilty, and was sentenced to six years imprisonment without hard labor. The effect of this action upon Ghandi's cause is at present problematical.

Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire"

BY JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The late Viscount Bryce was the author of many works falling in the field of political science and government. But as an historian he was a man of one book. That book, however, established his fame as a scholar. On the morrow of the publication of his *Holy Roman Empire* in 1864, Bryce, as was said of Byron when *Childe Harold* appeared, "awoke to find himself famous." It may, therefore, be interesting briefly to trace the intellectual genealogy of this nineteenth century historical classic.

Medieval Germany passed away during the Napoleonic wars. The battle of Austerlitz, on December 2, 1805, gave the death thrust to that venerable and dessicated survival of medieval imperialism which Voltaire already in the previous century had wittily described as "neither holy nor Roman nor an empire." On August 6, 1806, the emperor Francis II abdicated, skilfully camouflaging his humiliation beneath a garment of diplomatic verbiage designed to disguise the severity of the blow—Austerlitz and the ensuing treaty of Presburg—being vaguely alluded to as "recent important changes in the German empire."

Then came the German War of Liberation in 1813 and the fall of Napoleon. "The Napoleonic wars in the realm of fact and the romantic movement in the realm of fancy set men seeking for the history of the Germans." The roots of the New Germany of the beginning of the nineteenth century began to be sought for in the soil of past centuries. Von Raumer's picturesque *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen* was the first product of the new historical spirit. Two decades later Giesebrecht, who had come out of Ranke's historical seminar, began to issue volume after volume of his monumental *Geschichte der Kaiserzeit*. With vast erudition and an almost magic pen—a qualification rare among German historians—Giesebrecht wrote the history of Germany's most glorious and most potent period.

But his eloquent panegyric of medieval German imperialism was not universally accepted. The nineteenth century pulsed with a spirit which had been dormant before 1789—the new spirit of nationality. The Poles, the Bohemians, the Danes the Magyars, protested vigorously against Giesebrecht's assertions that these border nations of Germany owed all their

civilization and culture to medieval German teaching and example. Even in Germany there was acute division. The Prussian school (it is well to remember that there is a large admixture of Slav blood in the Prussian Germans) were incensed because all the grandeur of the medieval empire was attributed to Saxons, Franks, Swabians and Bavarians, and complained that they were not sufficiently recognized among the makers of medieval Germany.

Von Sybel flew to the rescue of Prussian reputation and in 1859, in a biting criticism of Giesebrecht entitled "Ueber die neueren Darstellungen der deutschen Kaiserzeit," claimed that the madness of *Weltmacht* had infatuated the Saxon, Salian and Hohenstaufen emperors—an observation which has a certain humourousness in the light of recent Hohenzollern imperialism. Sybel declared that the medieval emperors for centuries had wasted the blood and treasure of the German people in their Italian wars, and that the fall of the medieval empire in 1250 with the death of Frederick II, the last Hohenstaufen caesar, was a return to political sanity for Germany, the leadership of which was divided between Habsburg and Hohenzollern.

This last assertion of Sybel was regarded at once in Austria as a reflection upon the imperial prestige (or lack of it) of the Habsburgs. It must be remembered that at this juncture (1859) Prussia and Austria were at loggerheads for the hegemony of Germany, a struggle which culminated in the Seven Weeks War of 1866, when Prussia drove Austria out of the Germanic Confederation. Accordingly in 1862 the eminent Austrian scholar Ficker lectured at Innsbruck upon "The German nation in its universal and national relations," an elaborate historical dissertation in defense of the house of Austria and gall to the Prussians, of course.

Thus did the merits and demerits of the medieval empire become a heated issue in the politics of nineteenth century Germany. It was far from being a merely academic question. Naturally the world of outside and neutral historical scholarship became interested in the literary conflict being waged across the Rhine. In this wise the theme of the Holy Roman Empire suggested itself to Bryce in the early "six-

ties," and in 1864 the book which made him famous appeared.

Bryce approached the subject, however, from only one angle, but that a very important one. What interested him was to trace the history of the imperial idea from the founding to the termination of the Holy Roman Empire. He was not interested in its actual history save in so far as that narrative illuminated his major thesis. He endeavored to interpret and to evaluate the influence of a great political idea in medieval and modern history. The facts throughout the book were reduced to that minimum necessary to give coherence and cohesiveness to the subject. The only descriptive chapter in the work is that entitled "The city of Rome in the middle ages," which is a masterpiece of historical composition, without equal in English literature.

It may be said at this point that Bryce probably never equalled, certainly he never surpassed the art of presentation which is manifest in this, his earliest work. The weakness of so many treatises upon the history of political theory is that the authors of them eliminate so many historical facts in the course of their exposition that the result often inclines to be a pale abstraction. Bryce happily commingled political theory and concrete facts so as to give reality to his subject, and simultaneous and due expression to both ideas and events. A modern American semi-historian some years ago was foolishly ambitious to cover the same field which Bryce had done, and in the preface to his effusion arrogantly referred to Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* as "the merest fleeting sketch." Such banality deserves the stinging rebuke Krumbacher once made of a similar kind of work—*Ein dickes, aber ziemlich luftiges Buch*. In this day of mechanically made textbooks the wise teacher of history pines for more "fleeting sketches" of European history like Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*.

The popularity of the *Holy Roman Empire* from the day of its appearance until this present has been great, and although, as Mark Patterson said: "History is the most ephemeral form of literature," there is little danger of the work being soon supplanted. It has been translated into German, French and Italian and passed through many editions, both at home and abroad.

One of the notable features of the *Holy Roman Empire* which at once attracted the attention of historical students was an appendix upon the Burgundies in history. As the muse records the existence of ten states enjoying this name at various times, and having different location and different boundaries, the question was confusing enough to confound a savant. Bryce resolved the puzzle so clearly that Freeman, the regius professor of history at Oxford, and one of his most intimate friends wrote to him: "Woe to any man who does not know his Burgundies next term."

So great became Bryce's fame by virtue of his first work that some of his waggish friends occasionally addressed letters to him as H. R. E. James Bryce, in imitation of the titles of royalty. Bryce never again wrote another so nearly historical book as the

Holy Roman Empire. John Richard Green in vain endeavored to persuade him to write a history of Charlemagne for a series he edited, but "that shyest of fish," as Green wrote to Freeman, declined to do so.

The events of 1866 soon required Bryce to add a supplemental chapter to a third edition (a second had been at once called for), and the ensuing Franco-German war in 1870 compelled a fourth edition with still another chapter. How many editions of the work in this form appeared in the years which followed only the publishers know. But in 1904 Bryce found time amid his multifarious duties and activities to prepare a revised edition in which he inserted a new chapter upon the Eastern Roman Empire. Evidently he felt the lacuna made by the omission in previous editions of any treatment of the Byzantine Empire and so filled the gap.

Apropos of this chapter a fact little known is that Bryce once cherished the hope of writing a history of the Byzantine Empire. The preliminary to this intended opus is the *Life of Justinian* which he wrote for the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Bryce showed the true spirit of the scholar even in preparation of this brief article and was not content to rest upon published sources only. He made independent researches and was rewarded by discovering in the Barberini Library in Rome a copy of the lost *Vita Justiniani*, written by Theophilus, the emperor's preceptor, which had disappeared during the Renaissance, and whose contents were known only at second-hand through the notes of Nicholas Allemani, a German scholar of the sixteenth century, who was the last historian to have his eyes upon the manuscript until Bryce drew it forth into the light.

Bryce never found time to continue his Byzantine researches farther and the mantle which might have been his fell upon Professor Bury, of Cambridge. But it may be interesting to learn something of the line of thought which influenced Bryce towards Byzantine studies. The impulse thereto was partly intellectual, partly owing to his political sympathies. There were two Holy Roman Empires in the middle ages, a western and an eastern sprung from the same source and existing side by side, contemporary and neighbor. Bryce felt that he had written only one-half of the whole subject. Moreover, as a British liberal he belonged to the party of Gladstone and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman. For decades British liberals had bitterly opposed the Conservative party's—and especially Disraeli's policy—of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Bryce sympathized with the Christian populations, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, living under Turkish sway, and his travels in the Near East accentuated his hatred of the Turk. As an historian he saw that the roots and origin of this issue went back to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in the fifteenth century, and a natural association of ideas and the continuity of history led his mind still farther back into the history of the Byzantine Empire. He wanted to write a history of the origins of the Near Eastern Question as well as a history of the East Roman Empire.

Literature in the Synthetic Study of History

BY M. E. CURTI, INSTRUCTOR, БЕЛОIT COLLEGE

The rapprochement of the study of the ideas which a people or period has expressed in literary documents with the study of orientated general history should be at once interesting and stimulating to those who believe in the value of the synthetic history. Between literature and history there is an overlapping region which because of deficiency in intrinsic merit has not interested the student of letters, and which likewise has seemed hackneyed or sterile to the historian absorbed in his economic or political or geographical sources. Yet this neglected border region not only presents new materials and a new interpretation to history, but likewise offers a hypothetical solution to some vexing problems.

The potential force of the natural physiographic region in the development of America has been recently accentuated by such concepts as regional railway systems, regional federal reserve districts and regional arbitration boards. If, as Professor Royce insisted, provincial loyalty is valuable in the training of a wider loyalty, if provincial loyalty can transmute inordinate class loyalty into a more wholesome milieu, and if it makes for a richer and more varied national life, it possesses more than a meretricious interest. Just as the debates in Congress and the correspondence of sectional leaders is evidence of the very significant place of the interplay of sectional forces, provincial alliances and regional ententes,—so the literary expressions of these "potential nations" corroborate and enhance the sectional interpretation of political, economic and social forces. But these literary expressions of our natural physiographic regions also express incoherent aspirations for regional loyalty and regional culture. A study of the editorials of such periodicals as the *Southern Literary Messenger*, *Russell's Magazine*, and the *St. Louis Western Monthly* demonstrates that in the forties and fifties there was a cogent urge for the crystallization of regional ideals. In Cincinnati every new idea found headquarters, and "The Dial" of Moncure D. Conway is a fair mirror of an "extravagant, generous seeking." Virginians elaborated the belief in their chivalrous heritage in the love-lyric of "Florence Vane." They picturesquely sponsored the "Froissart Ballads" of Phillip Pendleton Cooke and devoured their own Tucker's "correction" of American history. The movement for the literary, cultural and educational independence of the South cannot be overlooked in the study of the Southern endeavor for independence.

Of the numerous students of the frontier process in American history its original exponent, Professor Fredrick Jackson Turner, has best perceived the value of literary documents in the orientation of the pioneer movements. The western movement—"that ever-beckoning finger of opportunity"—involving the

successive areas of forest and prairie giving way one after another to cultivated fields, engendered resulting ideas of vastness, wide enterprise, the dream and urge of great achievement, and the pioneering impetus to democracy and individualism. Such tendencies reacted on the national mind. Men like Emerson and Whitman, whose direct knowledge of the frontier came after their formative period, nevertheless incarnated the pervasive frontier ideas. Conditions were such as to make the commonplace inspirational. There had been a meager flowering of borrowed civilization; the frontier process signified the formation of roots and branches. Seeing everywhere about them the scaffoldings of life being built, they, too, threw up their scaffoldings and proclaimed the eternal significance of the common man, of democracy, individuality, and the ever-expanding, insatiable spirit of man.

To Emerson the fear of radicalism was a superstition of the age. Every man must sometimes be a radical, for "men are conservatives when they are least vigorous, or when they are most luxurious." His was a hearty welcome to the foreigners whose "energy would construct a new race, a new religion, a new literature, as vigorous as that of the New Europe which came out of the Middle Ages."¹ Again and again Emerson revelled in the fact that the emigrant from Austria, Prussia, and Italy left behind his padlocked lips, his padlocked mind, his subjection to monopolies, passports, police, soldiers and monks.² Whitman, in his editorials in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, truculently attacked those who would limit the boundless opportunities of America to themselves. "America is not for special types, for the castes, but for the great mass of people—the vast surging, hopeful, army of workers."³

Both Emerson and Whitman were moderate abolitionists and therefore opposed to the addition of new territory for the mere aggrandizement of the slave power. Though expansion was a characteristic of the frontier, both Emerson and Whitman were enthusiasts for "manifest destiny." "The question of the annexation of Texas," wrote Emerson, "is one of those which look very differently to the centuries and to the years. It is very certain that the strong British race, which have now overrun so much of this continent, must also overrun that tract (Texas) and Mexico and Oregon also; and it will, in the course of ages, be of small import by what particular occasions and methods it was done."⁴ Emerson's acumen perceived that slavery was but an incident in the process of expansion. Whitman, too, was centrifugal in his enthusiasm for expansion before the Mexican war, envisaging the United States as it now exists, including even Alaska in his dream of Empire.⁵

Emerson, the New England Brahman, expressed buoyant faith in the common man. "The instinct of the people is right."⁶ His best birth-right he felt to be the fact that Americans are not crippled by form and official pride, and that the best broadcloth of the country was put off to put on a blue frock; that the best man in the town might steer his plough or drive a milk cart.⁶ Common people were not to be snubbed, for there really were no common people, only juniors and seniors; the lords have in their time taken their place in the mob.⁷ All honor to the farmer and tradesman, whose considerate heads might wag to advantage with those of Congress and the Cabinet. The value of raw material in the making of men is unmeasurable; everything that makes for a new sort of man is good.⁸ Achievement is respectable when a man can do many things; it is significant that this was one of the chief tenets of Jacksonian Democracy. Again and again Emerson emphasized the charm and wonder of life gleaming out of common men. "Better certainly if we could secure the strength and fire which rude, passionate men bring to society quite clear of their vices. But who dares draw the linchpin from the wagon-wheel?"⁹ His conception of equality was, in short, that of the aggressive West: "All men are created capable of doing; that is the equality and the only equality of all men."¹⁰ Emerson regretted that the Whigs assumed that the total population was bad and meant badly; such despair could come only from that incapacity which results from attention to money and the blind closing of eyes to hope and faith.¹¹ After all, "Whiggism is a feast of shells, idolatrous of the forms of legislature, like the cat loving the house, not the inhabitant."¹² The motto of the "Globe" newspaper, "The world is governed too much," seemed so attractive that he could seldom find much appetite to read what followed.¹³

Whitman's transcendent faith in the common man was once expressed in his wish that he might see some "heroic, shrewd, fully-inform'd, healthy-bodied, middle-aged, bearded-faced American boatsman or blacksmith come down across the Alleghanies, and walk into the Presidency dress'd in a clean suit of working attire."¹⁴ To him Lincoln was "the mighty Westerner"—quite the greatest of the great figures on the crowded canvas of the nineteenth century. "Specimen Days"—the poet-nurse's war-time diary is replete with admiration for the President whom he frequently saw, with whom he exchanged silent greetings, feeling him someone to become personally attached to, for his "combination of purest, heartiest tenderness, and native western form of manliness."¹⁵

Both Emerson and Whitman had intense faith in the future of America. Both felt that we must cultivate a civilization distinctly American, a civilization in keeping with our actual and potential greatness. This idea is the nucleus of "The American Scholar," in which Emerson observed that the best thing foreign travel may do is to awake us to the greatness and possibilities of America. To Emerson the evil of our leaning on Europe and European civilization

might be cured by the "unpoetic West and this rank rabble party, the Jacksonism of the country, and the new-born may begin to frame their own world with greater advantage."¹⁶ In 1844 he could write: "Europe stretches to the Alleghanies; America lies beyond." For the East had easily imbibed the European culture. Fortunately, he insisted, now that the Atlantic is a straight, the "nervous, rocky West is intruding a new and continental element into the national mind, and we shall yet have an American genius."¹⁷ In the West national strength was continually re-enforced, that West where man must be a hero by the varied emergencies of the lonely farm, and where neighborhoods must combine against Indians or horse-thieves.¹⁸ The new conditions of the West stimulate mankind to progress, remove absurd restrictions and antique inequalities. It is the home of man. The vast tendencies concur of a new order. Yet it is incomplete. To Carlyle Emerson wrote from the West that it was a wild democracy, the riot of mediocres, yet none of his selfish Englands and Italies.¹⁹ He spoke of the power of the Mississippi, its immediate craving for new nations of men to reap and cure its harvests. He lamented his own fumbling fingers and stammering tongue when he would describe this great, intelligent, avaricious America,²⁰ eager, solicitous, and ambitious to feel its existence, to convince others of its talent by attempting and accomplishing much, prospering here, failing there.²¹ The office of this America was to liberate, to abolish kingcraft, caste, monopoly, to pull down gallows, to take in the immigrant, and to open the doors of the sea and the fields of the earth. This liberation appears in the power of invention, the freedom of thinking, the readiness for reform. Such grand material dimensions could not suggest dwarfish and stunted manner and policy.²² And great was the work of the poet and spiritualist, since America had given no sign of ending in bard or hero.²³

Democracy, which Whitman so thoroughly idealized, seemed to spring from the West, where doctrines founded on mere precedent and imitation were scorned. The very extremes and faults of Western character seemed refreshing, so free were they from the artificialized and tutored impulses which entered politics too much from "the richer (and not really richer, either) and older-settled regions."²⁴ "The boundless, democratic, free West! We love well to contemplate it, and to think of its future, and to think how widely it will minister to human happiness and rational liberty."²⁵

The West for Whitman crystallized the democracy and nationality which was needed for a faith, since America was the custodian of the future of humanity. The people, territory and government of the United States must lift the masses of down-trodden Europe and make them achieve something of that destiny God must have intended to be eligible for all mankind. "If it should fail! O, dark were the hour and dreary beyond description the horror of such failure,—which we anticipate not at all!"²⁶ We have adhered too long even to our petty limits in litera-

ture and life and ideals, for the time has come to unfold the world. His bigness of design was typical of the frontier. And this cosmopolitanism was to be achieved by a design equally typical of the frontier: the friendship of association. Friendship, Whitman tells us, is the deepest root of internationalism. In the colossal world-drama these United States are unquestionably designed for leading parts—

"O America, because you build for mankind I build for you."

"All people of the world together sail the same voyage, are bound to the same destination."

And America's cherished freedom of opportunity must be preserved by the people through the law. Thus Whitman more than Emerson realized that as the exhaustion of natural resources diminished the individual's equal opportunity, the people must act through the law. In freedom we cannot escape from the law, for true freedom merely opens entire activity under the law. To combine and to preserve man's thinking and acting for himself in an increasingly communistic future is the fundamental American problem. Yet Whitman was entirely optimistic, for here action, genius, inspiration is with the common people. The American poet must express their life, and like the Western pioneer, he must defy precedent. Whitman intuitively saw the germ of regional cultures which would enhance the value of the entire poem—the ensemble States. Reminding us that the greatness of the Mississippi valleys had never been expressed in American literature, he insisted that after materialistic prosperity, intercommunism and freedom are attended to, then a literature would begin to be defined.²⁷ From Texas and California a new poetry would spring, for the very nature of the West is poetic inspiration, and there must come a great throbbing, vital, imaginative work, or literature, in constructing which the Plains, the Prairies, and the Mississippi river should furnish the lambent fire, the ideal.²⁸ In Colorado was the embodiment of his own style and ideal—"The germ of joyous elemental abandon, this plenitude of material, entire absence of art, untrammel'd play of primitive nature, the chasm, the gorge, the crystal mountain stream, repeated scores, hundred of miles—the broad handling and absolute uncrampedness, the fantastic forms, the rocks. A typical Rocky Mountain cañon, or a limitless sea-like stretch of the great Kansas or Colorado plains, tallies, perhaps expresses, certainly awakes, those grandest and subtlest emotions of the human soul."¹

Again and again Whitman's heart leaped with exultation at the vision of the great West, and never did it swell more proudly than when he sang of the ever-advancing armies of the West "the earth-subduers, large-natured, with daring endurance, strong and haughty, wild and generous," the restless, restless race of his Pioneers! O Pioneers! Observe how he identified himself with the Westward movement in "A Promise to California":

"Soon I will travel to you,

For I know very well that I and robust love belong among you,

For these States tend inland and toward the western sea, and I will also."

The western contempt for ceremonies he expressed in his "Song of the Broad Axe," charged with the boundless impatience of restraint. The "Song of the Redwood Tree" described his consummate faith in the western world:

". . . lands of the western shore

I see in you, certain to come, the promise of a thousand years till now deferred,

Promised to be fulfilled, our common land, the race."

And most striking of all was his idealization of Western men in "The Prairie-Grass Dividing," when he pictured the sons of the West as those that "go their own gait, erect; those who step with freedom and command, who lead, not follow; those with a never-quelled audacity, that carelessly look into the faces of governors and presidents, and say, 'Who are you?'—Of earth-born passion, simple, never constrained, never obedient: those of inland America."

There is thus indelibly inscribed in Whitman and Emerson the spiritual counterpart of our western movement, of the economic process of our country's development. This spiritual counterpart emphasized the essentiality of individuality—not set forms; it abounded with enthusiasm, transcendent energy, buoyant optimism; it insisted upon a boundless faith in America and in the future. All of these ideals came from a new start in a new world. And the record is a part of our history, no less significant than any other part. Yet it is but one example of the value of the correlation of literary expression with history. Another is that barely suggested: the record of cultural aspirations in our various natural physiographic regions. Objectively, both are of intrinsic value. They are, moreover, a wholesome undulation in the present current of pessimism. That America which to Whitman and Emerson was indomitable and invincible has new tasks to perform, new tests to meet. If America's unique historical experience has given it something of permanent value, it is surely the tradition of faith, the heritage of beginnings. Our literary expression—and that in the widest sense of the word—is a hitherto neglected field for historians. Its study will correct the notion that our history has been entirely occupied with material interests. It will, moreover, point out successes and failures among the varying nuances of cultural and spiritual aspirations. It will determine reasons, correlate results. And it may perhaps enhance the basis for a concrete trial of Rayce's hypothesis of the value of provincial loyalty. Certainly it may paint in correct perspective the picture of "the urge, the ardor, the unconquerable will" of our first and just-past frontier.

¹ Journals VII., p. 116.

² Ibid. X., p. 106.

³ "Gathering of the Forces," I., 163.

⁴ Cabot: *Memoirs of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, II., p. 376.

- ⁸ Walt Whitman: *Gathering of the Forces*, I., p. 38.
- ⁹ Emerson's *Journals*, IV., p. 223.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII., p. 85.
- ¹¹ *Journals*, VII., p. 215.
- ¹² *Conduct of Life*, p. 275.
- ¹³ *Journals*, VII., p. 390.
- ¹⁴ *Journals*, VIII., p. 311.
- ¹⁵ *Journals*, VII., p. 99.
- ¹⁶ *New Eng. Reformers*, p. 242.
- ¹⁷ Walt Whitman: *Complete Prose Works*, p. 329.
- ¹⁸ "Specimen Days," p. 57.
- ¹⁹ Emerson's *Journals*, III., p. 308.

- ²⁰ "The Young American," p. 349.
- ²¹ *Fortune of the Republic*, p. 534.
- ²² Emerson-Carlyle Correspondence, II., p. 216.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, I., p. 342.
- ²⁴ *Journals*, VII., p. 286.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, X., p. 84.
- ²⁶ Emerson-Carlyle, II., p. 216.
- ²⁷ *Gathering of the Forces*, I., p. 27.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ³⁰ *Specimen Days*, p. 145.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*

The Professional Library of a High School History Teacher

BY PROFESSOR R. M. TRYON, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

A high school history teacher who desires to be up to the minute on the teaching phases of his subject not infrequently finds some difficulty in keeping in touch with the most recent publications such as syllabi, manuals, committee reports and the like. He is willing to spend some money for valuable teaching aids and suggestions and to devote a part of his busy teaching life to a careful perusal of this material, provided he knows what to buy and where to get it. To bring his own students up to date in this matter the writer has recently brought together a considerable body of history teaching aids of various kinds. Believing that this material would be of interest and value to the readers of the *HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, he submits it to them. Some items in the list are, of course, already well known. So far as the writer knows, however, the material has never been published in the classified form in which it appears below.

For many reasons, it does not seem worth while to take space to evaluate the various aids listed in the outline. What would tremendously help one teacher might not be of equal value to another. The writer has a speaking acquaintance with each book, pamphlet, report and syllabus in the list, as well as a copy of each in his office. Should anyone desire specific information about one or more of the aids it will be gladly furnished on request.

Judging from the calls that the writer so frequently gets for material of the type included in division four of the list many teachers will doubtless be glad to know of the superabundant supply of aids of this character. Without being at all specific it should be remarked that this sort of material is of unequal value, varying from excellent to next to worthless. Inasmuch, however, as most of it is comparatively inexpensive, one does not pay a very high price for something that proves to be of no value after securing it. For a teacher to know from personal contact rather than hearsay the value of aids of the type listed in part four is worth to him the price of any one of them.

I. GENERAL DISCUSSIONS OF THE SUBJECT OF HISTORY—ITS PROCESSES AND NATURE.

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2. Teggart, F. J. *The Processes of History*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1918.

3. Mathews, Shailer. *The Spiritual Interpretation of History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916.
4. Woodbridge, J. F. E. *The Purpose of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916.
5. Allen, J. W. *The Place of History in Education*. London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1909.
6. Teggart, F. J. *Prolegomena to History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916.
7. Fling, F. M. *The Writing of History*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1920.
8. Vincent, J. M. *Historical Research*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911.
9. Langlois, C. V. and Seignobos, Charles. *Introduction to the Study of History*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1912.
10. Jameson, J. F. *Historical Writings in America*. Boston and Chicago: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1891.
11. Acton, Lord. *The Study of History*. New York and Chicago: The Macmillan Company, 1911.
12. Croce, B. *History, Its Theory and Practice*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921.
13. Williams, Maurice. *The Social Interpretation of History*. Long Island City, New York: Sotery Publishing Company, 1921.
14. Nordau, Max. *The Interpretation of History*. New York: Willey Book Company, 1910.

II. COMMITTEE REPORTS ON HISTORY IN THE HIGH SCHOOL.

1. Report of the Madison Conference to the Committee of Ten on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy, in Report of Committee of Ten, pp. 162 ff. New York and Chicago: American Book Company, 1893.
2. Report of the Committee of Seven. *The Study of History in Schools*. New York and Chicago: The Macmillan Company, 1899.
3. Report of the Committee of Five. *The Study of History in Schools*. New York and Chicago: The Macmillan Company, 1911.
4. Report of the N. E. A. Committee on Social Studies. *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916.
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The History and Social Science Curriculum of the Joliet, (Ill.) Township High School

BY RALPH H. BUSH

In discussing the History and Social Science Curriculum of the Joliet Township High School, I shall attempt to give briefly the reasons that led to changing the courses, the aims that were established and the curriculum as it is at present. Wherever History department is mentioned, History, Social and Political Science and Economics is meant.

Previous to 1914, the History Curriculum consisted of one year of Ancient History given generally in the Freshman year, followed by Medieval and Modern History, and that followed in turn by English History, closing with American History in the Senior year. One semester courses were offered to Juniors and to Seniors in Industrial History, Economics, Civics and Commercial Law. In order to graduate from the Institution, one year of history was required. The History department urged all students to take their required work during their Freshman year. The theory was that a student would become so enamored with the subject that he would then elect the other courses. In practice 90 per cent of our students took their one year of history, Greek and Roman as given in the Freshman year. This meant that by far the greater number of students could tell you that Arte-Xerxes had the mumps at such and such a date and that in the fourth dynasty somebody's great-grand-dad had a toothache and that Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans held the Pass of Thermople, but—they knew nothing of the present world problems or their causes.

There had been a feeling of unrest among the members of the History Faculty for several years. Finally in 1913, they decided to try to remedy some of the more glaring evils. It needed but a few meetings to convince the History people that they faced a question, not of a minor change or two, but of entire reorganization. We will not attempt to describe the various meetings that took place, nor tell of all the cussing and discussing at those meetings. It was finally decided that the first thing in our reorganization work was to draft the aims of the department. Nearly three months were spent in thrashing out the aims, but they were months well spent. The department finally determined that its aims were three-fold. The first aim was "*to teach a liking for the subject.*" It was found that the students had taken a course called "History" in the grades, which consisted of a general dry collection of dates, and that they came into the high school hating the very word "History." The majority of them took the Ancient History in the first year in the high school and seeing no connection between the Ancient History and their every day life, simply added another nail to the history coffin. Realizing this condition we felt that the first aim of history courses should be to *teach a liking for the subject.* The second aim was

"*to give a skeleton knowledge of the subject.*" The department felt that as the majority of students in the high school did not go to college, the aim of the high school class should be to give a general survey rather than to turn out a student highly specialized in one small portion of the whole. In other words, the high school student should have a World Survey from the beginning of history down to the modern time, even if it were very brief rather than a highly specialized course over one particular phase of history. The specializing could be done in college. The third aim, and we considered it the most important, was "*to impart the knowledge of where to find information on any subject.*" Mr. Reader, suppose we told you that this afternoon at two o'clock you were to give a talk on the Bastille and what it meant to France. What would you do? Would you wait until two o'clock, then get up before your audience and talk from memory about the Bastille? I will guarantee that about all you could tell us of the Bastille is that it was a prison in the heart of Paris, which was destroyed by the French mob at the outbreak of the French revolution. You could not give an hour's lecture on that scrap of information. What would you do then? You would go to the reference shelf, take down an encyclopedia, find Bastille, look up its history and at two o'clock this afternoon be prepared to give a very interesting lecture. Which teacher gave you, Mr. Reader, the better education? The one who told you that the Bastille was a prison or the one that told you where to go to find out about the Bastille or any other subject? The department established its third aim, "*to impart the knowledge of where to find information on any subject.*"

After the three aims had been determined, the question of content of courses was attacked. Here for a long time no appreciable gain was made. At last in desperation the department imagined that it was the father and the mother of a child just entering the high school, and that it was necessary for the department to make out the course of study that this child would take in school. (Have you ever sat down with paper and pencil and attempted to make out a four-year course that would give the student everything he should have? If you have not—try it.) The department found that the student needed four years of English, needed four years of Mathematics, needed four years of Science, should have four years of History, should take two to four years of Foreign language, should have two to four years of Commercial subjects, should have the same amount of time for either Manual Training or Home Economics; besides courses in Music, Art, Physical Training, Band, Orchestra. After a great deal of effort the department found that its imaginary child could get an excellent high school education in nine and one-

half years. That imaginary child did more than any other one thing to bring to the minds of the history faculty the fact that they would have to limit their history curriculum, probably, to two years with a maximum of three years. When that idea had been firmly established, the work of dropping certain subjects from the curriculum and reorganizing others was taken in hand. In organizing and looking over the old curriculum, it was felt that Industrial History, Commercial Law, and English History had no place in the high school. They are excellent subjects, but the valuable material they contain can be given in other courses. Investigation showed that 150 students were taking Civics in their Junior or Senior year. As the Sophomore class numbers annually about 500, this meant that approximately 350 students a year were leaving the institution without a course in Civics. That led the History group to urge that Civics should be required of all students in the Sophomore year. The question then arose—what department that had a subject in the Sophomore year should be approached and asked to withdraw that subject in favor of the History group. That was a very delicate question and one that at first seemed insurmountable. Then someone with a mathematical turn of mind began to figure things out. Physical training was required of all students in the high school two days a week. The Freshmen had four required subjects, that recite daily with physical training on Monday and Wednesday. The Sophomores four required subjects with physical training on Tuesday and Thursday. On the days when the students did not have their gymnasium work, they reported to study halls. The History Faculty said, "Why not take the one semester Civics course of the Senior year and give it to the Sophomores on Monday, Wednesday and Friday for the entire year? In this way no other department will be disturbed." Immediately there arose the administrative problem of arranging a teacher's program so that he should teach Civics classes three days a week and have no classes two days a week. Then the department said, "What is good for the Sophomores three days a week can surely be made good for Freshmen two days a week. Since the Freshmen take their gymnasium work on Monday and Wednesday, they can take a Social Science course on Tuesday and Thursday and go to study hall on Friday." From an administrative point of view the problem was simple. The teacher would teach Civics to Sophomores Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and Freshman Social Science work on Tuesday and Thursday. Notice particularly that these Freshmen and Sophomore Social Science courses are given as extra courses above the regular four academic subjects.

After having arranged the work for the first two years, the history department felt that it could justly demand that history be required as one of the four academic subjects in the Junior and Senior years. At this point a very interesting experiment was conducted. It was thought that it might prove of benefit in shaping the courses if an examination could be given to people who had had three and four years of history and had been out of school for a number

of years. Finally twenty people, very good friends of the school, were asked to help. Upon reaching the institution they were told that the school wanted to conduct an experiment and wanted their co-operation. They were given pencil and paper and informed that under no conditions were they to write their names or put any mark of identification upon the papers. Then some very simple questions were asked, such as: Write all that you can remember on Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, Greece, Egypt, Rome, etc. After finishing that examination they were asked if they would be able to come back the following week and take another test, with the promise on their part that they would not look up any historical matter or talk with anyone about any historical matter until after the next examination. It was carefully explained to them that the value of this experiment lay in their answering the questions without any special preparation. At the next meeting they were asked definite questions about the nations of antiquity. The results of these tests were very interesting. For several years we had been giving a course in General History to Sophomore Commercial Students. We then took the Commercial students, now Seniors, who had had their General History two years before and gave them the same questions that we had given to the towns-people. The showing made by the Commercial students compared so favorably with the showing made by the townspeople, that it convinced the waverers in the History Faculty of the value of the course in General History. So, it was decided that a one year course of General or (as we preferred to call it) World Survey of History would be required in the Junior year. American History was required in the first semester of the Senior year and either Economics or Sociology in the second semester of that year. It was felt that when a student had his Freshman Social Science course, his Sophomore Civics course, his one year of World Survey of History—one semester should be given to the political phase of American history, especially as the student was required to take either Economics or Sociology. This finishes the outline of the curriculum.

Now for a brief description of the contents of the courses. The Freshman Social Science Course which is given each Tuesday and Thursday is a course in Vocational Guidance, which we call "Occupations." As the gymnasium classes are segregated, we continue the same policy in the Freshman "Occupations" classes and the Sophomore "Civics" classes. The book for the boys is Gowan & Wheatley's "Occupations"; for the girls, Hoerle & Saltzberg's "The Girl & Her Job." It was felt by the department that the students entering the high school had very little conception of the various vocations or professions. An actual case will illustrate that point:—a boy was brought into the principal's office by one of the teachers with the suggestion that his course be changed. The boy's name was Aramonda Gilda Balda. He was taking an Engineering course which requires four years of Mathematics. The records showed that the boy in the grades had failed continually in his Arithmetic, and that he had not been able to grasp his Mathe-

matics in the high School. He had been urged to change to a Manual Training course, but had steadfastly refused on the grounds that his father would not let him. Finally, Aramonda was asked to bring his father to school. When the father came, he insisted that the boy stay in the Engineering course, and it finally developed that the father wanted his son to be a fireman on a railroad engine. The History department felt that the time spent in the Freshman year should be given up to a study of the various occupations. That course is now being followed. During the year business men and women are brought to talk to the various Occupations classes. For example, the superintendent of one of the Hospitals gave the girls a talk on "nursing." One of the bankers talked to the boys about his profession. The chief molder of one of the steel mills gave a talk. In the second semester a student must choose a profession that he thinks he would like to follow. The school furnishes plain, heavy manila paper covers and white paper; the student writes a book in which he tells of his chosen profession. He makes a title page; he dedicates the book to whomever he pleases; he writes a preface, then he describes the profession. There are chapters on qualifications necessary to that profession, on the amount of education that he needs, on the amount of money to be expended on preparation for the profession, on the financial compensation that he may look forward to in future years, on the prospects of advancement; chapters on the social advantages of the profession and on his own personal disqualifications. In the end he gives a bibliography showing where he got his information. He is also urged to illustrate this book as much as he possibly can either with hand work or with pictures taken from magazines and newspapers. Throughout the course the student is urged to consider his choice of a profession a tentative one. He is repeatedly told that he will probably change his plans by the time he is a Senior. The students take a very keen interest in the course and are constantly expressing the wish that more time could be spent upon it.

In the Sophomore year the Civics course that comes each Monday, Wednesday and Friday is a combination of Community Civics and Old Line Governmental Civics. There are a number of excellent textbooks, but the one that is being used is "American Government," by Magruder.

The course in World Survey of History given in the Junior year is looked upon as one of the best courses in the department. The first six weeks is devoted to the field of Ancient History, Wolfson's "Ancient Civilization" being the text used. The rest of the year is devoted to Medieval and Modern History with Harding's "New Medieval and Modern History" as text.

The textbook used in the one semester course in American History is Muzzey's "American History." There is no one semester American History on the market, but we have found Muzzey to be very satisfactory. In the last semester of the Senior year the student chooses either Economics or Sociology. There are three good textbooks in Economics—Thompson's

"Elementary Economics"; Marshall & Lyons' "Our Economic Organization"; and Burch's "American Economic Life," which is a revision of Burch & Nearing's "Economics." The text that we are using is Thompson's, although we use the other two for reference work almost as much as we use the text.

In Sociology the text is "American Social Problems" Burch and Patterson. This is an excellent book.

It may not be out of order to describe a contemplated change or two in the curriculum. It is felt that instead of permitting a student to choose either Economics or Sociology, there should be a course giving parts of both. This past semester such a course was roughly outlined; it had an introductory chapter of old line Civics, followed with about ten chapters taken from the three Economics textbooks that have been named and that was followed by about ten chapters from Burch and Patterson's "Social Problems." It is too early to express an opinion on the value of such a course. One other contemplated change is to offer a course either once or twice a week to be called, "Advanced Occupations." This would be taken in addition to the four subjects required in the Junior year and would be somewhat similar to that of the Freshman year. Many students in the last semester of their Senior year begin to wish that they had changed their course and had taken something else or, as it is so often expressed, begin to find themselves—to wake up. The History department is hoping that this Advanced Occupation course will succeed in wakening them in the Junior year thus permitting them to make changes before it is too late.

As a summary—the aims of the History Department are three-fold: first, "to teach a liking for the subject"; second, "to teach a skeleton knowledge of the subject"; third, "to impart the knowledge of where to find information on any subject." The curriculum requires of all students:—in the Freshman year twice a week, "Occupations"; in the Sophomore year three times a week, "Civics"; in the Junior year, a one year course in "World Survey of History" and in the Senior year, the first semester "American History," the second semester either "Economics" or "Sociology." These courses have been given since 1914 and it is felt that they are past the experimental stage. We do not feel that they are the acme of perfection, but we do feel that when a student has completed these courses, he has a strong foundation in History and Social Science.

Most Recent Committee Report

The reports and recommendations of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship appeared in the issues of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, for March, April, May and June, 1921.

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Dramatization as an Aid in Teaching History

BY MARY DEVER, CLEVELAND O.

Much has been said in recent years in favor of dramatization as an aid to the teaching of history, and the impression obtains that this method of presentation of the great scenes enacted in the past is common. But a careful search for specific facts in relation to dramatic work in history classes, and for copies of actual lines used, yields very little in the way of information, and I am led to believe that while individual effort on the part of teachers has not been lacking, yet very few have been willing to put the results of their work into permanent form. This it would seem is a professional mistake, leaving as it does, each teacher to do all the experimental work herself, and resulting, as individual work of this kind always does result, in wasteful duplication of effort.

The following plan has been used in a number of classes in the first half of the eighth year with excellent results. It is submitted in the hope that similar reports from other teachers may reach those of us who are endeavoring to use intelligently and with economy of time and effort a method that we all feel should in some way yield large professional returns.

The assignment of work for the semester under consideration began with the Constitutional Convention and ended with the close of the Civil War. The recitation period was brief, and actual material was entirely lacking. These two conditions remained a handicap throughout the term, and accomplishment must be judged accordingly.

The first scene enacted was a session of the Constitutional Convention, an occurrence that when read *about*, usually arouses only a manufactured class-room interest on the part of students. It was undertaken in the hope that the series of meetings of the delegates of the thirteen states in Philadelphia might at least seem like something that had actually taken place—as real in fact as the Washington Conference of our own day; and that Washington, Hamilton, Franklin and many others might appear as genuine “figures of the past.” The actual words of the delegates were used whenever possible. When these expressions were too lengthy, or too difficult to understand, abridgment or transcription was resorted to, but never at any other time.

Excerpts from accounts of various sessions were given in one scene for the reason that the whole series of meetings had to be brought within the brief time at our disposal, and for the further purpose of producing a clean-cut, definite impression. These excerpts were taken not only from speeches, but from letters and reports of committees as well, the object being to use an exact quotation wherever possible. And to this keeping to the actual words of the man represented, I attribute the success of the work. There is a simple dignity inherent in the words of great men on great occasions that takes hold of the imag-

ination and leaves a lingering charm in the memory. They have the ring of reality, and especially those delivered in the Convention possess the sonorous vibration of prophecy foreshadowing as it did the history of our country for generations to come. *This is the true dramatic element in history* and it should be kept in the forefront of presentation. I emphasize this fact for the reason that dramatization by children who have reached the age of self-consciousness is very different from the same thing among younger boys and girls. The latter may safely imagine and even improvise scenes and they do it with wonderfully gratifying results. But imagined sayings of great men do not satisfy the older students. The effect is often flat, and there is a tendency to manifest a weak self-consciousness on the part of the pupil reading the lines. More than this, why imagine what may be ascertained, and is history, of all subjects, a proper field for flights of the imagination? Is not this the very thing of all others that should be avoided?

But to return to the Convention. Arguments were made in favor of abandoning the old Articles of Confederation, a step taken without authority, but with what success we all know. The great compromises were debated and adopted, and Franklin's words were given in closing. Material for this scene as for all others was laboriously copied by the teacher from source material in the public library. And right here is the argument for co-operation. It should not be necessary for each teacher who wishes to dramatize to do this work over. Children cannot do it themselves on account of their many inaccuracies and their inability to judge which parts of a selection should be taken and which omitted.

Washington's administration offered many dramatic incidents. Hamilton's arguments in favor of fundamental financial laws are excellent material even if only a few sentences be taken. The great proclamation of neutrality, Genet's letter of April eighteenth, Washington's caution to Arthur St. Clair, and other incidents may be loosely cemented into one scene, and brought out with great effect.

In Adams' administration Pinckney's letter to the president was read, followed by Adams' indignant address to Congress. The hot argument between Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry on the one hand, and Mr. X, Mr. Y and Mr. Z on the other was given word for word as reported to President Adams. The Alien and Sedition Laws were debated and passed and comment by newspapers of the day quoted.

Coming down to 1801, Jefferson's Administration offers a wonderful field for the dramatist. His inaugural address is one of our great state papers. It not only utters noble truths for which we all stand today as he did then, but clothes the thought with

words that fall like music on the ear. An excerpt from this address was given followed by correspondence relating to the Louisiana purchase, including selections from letters of Jefferson, Madison and Livingston. Napoleon's instructions to Marbois, his Minister of Finance, in which he tells him to "see Mr. Livingston this very day," were read. Boys dressed as scouts read from the Journal of Lewis and Clark. Sentences chosen from Jefferson's address at the special session of Congress, relating to the action of the *Leopard* in firing on the *Chesapeake*, closed this scene.

Madison's administration presented greater difficulties. Its principal happening, the War of 1812, is not an inspiring subject. Yet even here as everywhere, the courage and self-sacrifice of individuals shine against a background of political intrigue, incompetence, and futility of purpose. Henry Clay, certainly not at his best, yet still Henry Clay, stated the causes of the war briefly and completely. Tecumseh harangued the Indians, and later withstood Proctor himself. Perry reported his victory to Harrison, and a messenger with "good news from Ghent" staggered up the steps—in this case across the floor of the school room—of President Madison's rented home in Washington.

Material of the kind described above is never tiresome to students. It may be elaborated without limit and time spent in memorizing it—if it should be thought best on occasion to do so—would not be wasted. The words of great men are well worthy of a place in the memory. Even the older boys—boys too old for the grade—take part in the work in earnest. I have yet to discover a boy who does not thrill at some of the more stirring passages, such as Jackson's Anti-Nullification Proclamation. Who does not respond to his words, "I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, have thought proper to

issue this my proclamation, stating my views of the Constitution and laws . . . declaring the course which duty will require me to pursue, and, appealing to the understanding and patriotism of the people, warn them of the consequences, that must . . . result from an observance of the dictates of the convention. I consider . . . the power to annul a law of the United States . . . incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.

"Our Constitution does not contain the absurdity of giving (one) power to make laws and another to resist them.

"The Constitution of the United States forms a government, not a league.

"Treaties are made in the name of all. Troops are raised for the joint defense. The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Disunion by armed force is *treason*. Are you really ready to incur its guilt? The consequences must be fearful on you.

"In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

"Done at the City of Washington this tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1832 and of the Independence of the United States the 57th."

Let me say in conclusion that after students are once supplied with copies of the whole series of dramatizations, a review may be made of the entire semester's work in an hour. Scenes can be enacted more quickly than they can be described. A review of this kind is a delight, with the pupils as actors and the teacher as audience.

Annual Meeting National Council for the Social Studies

REPORTED BY EARLE U. RUGG, ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

The second annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies was held in Chicago, Saturday, February 25, 1922, at the Central Y. M. C. A., 19 South La Salle Street. The program and business meeting was preceded by a luncheon. Nearly one hundred and fifty teachers of the social studies, school administrators and others interested in curriculum making in the social sciences from various sections of the country attended. President A. E. McKinley, editor of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, presided.

The program for the afternoon centered around a proposed social studies course for the secondary schools presented by Prof. L. C. Marshall, Dean of the College of Commerce and Administration, University of Chicago. His discussion was confined, for the most part, to the courses to be offered in the junior high school. A summary of Prof. Marshall's report is presented below together with a digest of the discussion of the report that followed.¹

Dr. Marshall first outlined his reasons for being

interested in the social studies in the high school. He stated the results of investigation by Committees of Economists and workers in the field of Business Administration. The investigations of these groups showed that there could be no real collegiate or graduate work in the social sciences until a real foundation for the study of history, government, economics and sociology was laid in the high school. The report of Prof. Marshall and his colleagues assumes that certain fundamental tools and methods of study will have been acquired in the first six grades. It also assumes that the child will come to the junior high school with a considerable body of facts acquired in grades 1-6 in courses in history, community civics and geography.

The specific courses suggested for the secondary school are:²

Grade 7.

1. Geographic bases of (physical environment in relation to) United States development.

2. Social Science survey (types of social organization)
 - a. simple industry and simple society.
 - b. transforming effects of knowledge.
3. Other studies (English, science), correlated as far as may be practicable.

Grade 8.

1. Opening of the world to the use of man.
2. The place of the individual in our society (vocational survey).
3. Other studies correlated.

Grade 9.

1. The History of the United States (presented with "citizenship material" occupying the center of attention).
2. Principles of social organization (economic, political and social).
3. Other studies correlated.
4. A general survey of business administration, elective.

Grades 10-12.

1. The presentation of social studies in more specialized form and more in accord with the traditional divisions of the social sciences than was suggested for the earlier grades.

In commenting upon this report Prof. Marshall made some statements that are very significant to careful curriculum making in the social studies.

1. In the first place he stressed the fact that the proposed courses and the hypotheses upon which they are built indicate *one* method of attack on the problem of devising courses in history, government, economics and sociology for secondary school pupils.
2. He emphasized the fact that any curriculum worker must have a series of hypotheses as a basis of attack on the problem of making school courses. Two of the important hypotheses that he mentioned are:
 - a. The organization of school courses should be in terms of the purpose of the social sciences. He states the purposes as: to give the pupil an awareness and an appreciation of how we live together in this modern society and to show him how to live together well so that he can participate in an effective manner in a democratic society.
 - b. The question or problem is not how to put social studies in the curriculum, but how to organize the curriculum around social activities and objectives.

In conclusion Dr. Marshall pointed the way to a more scientific method of curriculum making when he emphasized the need of real experimentation upon these courses before final publication. "Practice is the great refiner," according to Dr. Marshall. He suggested that each unit of work in each program must be tested out in the classroom under controlled conditions before we can formulate an effective social studies curriculum.

Discussion of Prof. Marshall's report was opened by Prof. Henry Johnson, of Teachers College, Columbia University. Prof. Johnson expressed his admiration

for the thorough and scholarly work of Prof. Marshall and his colleagues in the above report. The general theme of his discussion was the need for the actual concrete materials being prepared, tried out in the classroom and tested. He referred to the recent committee activities of the various social science association and in a semi-humorous way described the high "mortality" of Chairmen of Committees on school courses of the American Historical Association. The slow, careful work and experimentation necessary to the construction of school courses in history is such that most workers, according to Prof. Johnson, feel that the task is an arduous one. He commended the procedure of Prof. Marshall and his co-workers. In one respect Prof. Johnson took exception to the Marshall program. He felt that there was a lack of continuity in it. He contended that American school pupils need training in time sequence and in the continuity of events. Only through that type of training can pupils be made to see what the past contributes to the present.

Prof. Ross Finney, of the University of Minnesota, next took up the discussion. Dr. Finney agreed with the hypotheses of the Marshall report. He also emphasized the point that actual materials of instruction must be available for the teacher and the pupil before a proposed program can be tested. He asked that clear-cut directions as to the use of this material also be prepared for the teachers. He called attention to the rather close agreement among social science associations and their respective committees at work preparing school courses as to what should be taught in the high school, particularly in grades 9-12.

In grade 9 some form of Community Civics is agreed upon.

In grade 10 European history is agreed upon.

In grade 11 American history is agreed upon.

In grade 12 Problems of Democracy (economics, government and sociology) is agreed upon.

For grades 7 and 8 Prof. Finney suggested alternative courses to those proposed in the Marshall report. For the 7th grade he advocated geography, weaving in social material; for the 8th grade, history, again with a background of social material. In his talk, however, he did not make clear just what he meant by courses in geography and history with a background of social material. Nor did he show how his proposed history course in the eighth grade would be different from those upon which social science workers are "agreed" for grades ten and eleven.

Professor Edgar Dawson, of Hunter College, followed Dr. Finney in the discussion of the above programs. He said that failure to teach real social science in our schools today is a fundamental defect in a democratic country. He asserted that we must train children to sink their individuality for the benefit of the group, we must mold them for democratic government. He stressed the need for political training for the secondary school pupils who would soon have to pass upon the merits and demerits of city charters, and state constitutions, etc. The schools, according to Prof. Dawson, have an opportunity for real citizenship training.

Dr. H. O. Rugg, of the Lincoln School of Teachers College, next commented upon the report of Dr. Marshall. He emphasized the need of each social science group—the historian, the political scientist, the economist, and the sociologist, the public school teacher, the school administrator, and the educational psychologist co-operating to formulate a real social studies course for the American schools. Each group, Dr. Rugg contended, has something to contribute. The discussion this afternoon and the representation of this meeting, he said, leads one to be hopeful that at last the above groups will co-operate in some kind of an agency for the promotion of a scientifically constructed curriculum in the social studies. He pronounced Prof. Marshall's report the most forward-looking yet published.

Dr. Rugg commented upon the fact that the specialist is beginning to draw his material from other school subjects. He stressed the fact that each speaker had emphasized the need for real experimentation. But real experimentation, according to Dr. Rugg, does not mean having a few teachers "try out" the material and report in an a priori manner their judgment as to whether the proposed course or book is teachable. Rather it means controlled classes, pupils in two or more classes of equal mental ability; studying under timed conditions; also the trial of each unit of material in two or three grades to determine in which it can be taught best. This procedure, according to the speaker, is being followed by curriculum workers in some schools like the Lincoln School where careful curriculum making has been going on for some time. In the opinion of Dr. Rugg this meeting with the representative groups present and the point of view expressed by various workers offers a real opportunity for the National Council to take the lead in formulating some agency such as a Commission to work upon a social studies curriculum.

Further discussion of Prof. Marshall's report followed. Messrs. E. E. Oberholtzer, Superintendent of Schools, Tulsa, Okla.; C. W. Washburne, Superintendent of Schools, Winnetka, Ill.; R. O. Hughes, Peabody High School, Pittsburgh, Pa.; E. Sisson, Elementary School Principal, Chicago Public Schools; R. W. Hatch, Horace Mann School of Teachers College, New York City; and G. H. Gaston, of Chicago Normal College, taking part. All speakers stressed the need for a social studies program or course that can be placed in the hands of the class teacher. They also felt that it was an important task of the National Council to act as a clearing house for all persons interested in making school courses in the social sciences.

The business meeting of the Council consisted for the most part in the report of the Secretary, the adoption of a permanent constitution and the election of officers for the ensuing year. Prof. Dawson summarized the work of the Council during its first year. He pointed out that the Executive Committee has worked during the year to get the Council effectively organized. He believed that that work had been accomplished. He called attention to the efforts of

the Council to accomplish its main purpose which is "to facilitate co-operation among those interested in increasing the usefulness of the social studies, and to act as a medium of co-operation for such groups as the national associations of economists, geographers, historians, political scientists, sociologists, professors of education, and school administrators." The Executive Committee already has secured formal resolutions of endorsement from several of these associations and is asking that the others also vote to co-operate with us at their next annual meetings. He asked the members present to help interest other people in the movement. Prof. Dawson also urged the formation of local councils in the various teacher training institutions, particularly in summer schools.

In the absence of the Chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Constitution, Prof. J. M. Gambrill, of Teachers College, the Assistant Secretary, E. U. Rugg, read the proposed new constitution, which, after some discussion, was adopted.

The following officers for the ensuing year were elected:

President, L. C. Marshall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Vice-President, Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

Secretary, Edgar Dawson, Hunter College, New York City.

Assistant Secretary, E. U. Rugg, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Miss Bessie Pierce, University High School, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

C. A. Coulomb, Assistant Superintendent, Philadelphia Public Schools, Philadelphia, Pa.

W. H. Hathaway, Milwaukee Normal School, Milwaukee, Wis.

After a rising vote of thanks to Professors G. H. Gaston and R. M. Tryon for their untiring efforts in making the local arrangements, the second annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies adjourned.

¹ A full report of Prof. Marshall's program may be obtained by writing to The University of Chicago Press for "Social Studies in Secondary Education, price \$1.00.

² Quoted from a summary report of "Social Studies in Secondary Education." University of Chicago Press, 1922.

Announcement

A National Council for the Social Studies completed its organization in Chicago on February 25th, 1922. Its purpose is to lay the foundations for training democratic citizens; and its sponsors believe that such training can result only from a carefully developed and adequately supported system of teaching in the elementary and secondary schools. Its plan looks to promoting co-operation among those who are responsible for such training, including at least the university departments which contribute knowledge of facts and principles to civic education; and the leading groups of educational leaders, such as principals, superintendents, and professors of education,

who develop the methods of handling these facts.

An advisory board was set up composed of representatives of (1) the five associations of scholars most nearly related to the purpose of the National Council, —historians, economists, political scientists, sociologists, and geographers; (2) the national organizations of educational investigators and administrators—elementary and high school principals, teachers of education, normal school principals, and superintendents; and (3) regional associations of teachers of history and civics. The function of this advisory board is to bring into the National Council the points of view of the organizations represented by its members and to insure a development of the social studies which will be in harmony with the best educational thought as well as based on the best present practice.

The following officers were elected for the year 1922-1923: L. C. Marshall, Professor of Economics in the University of Chicago, president; Henry Johnson, Professor of History in Teachers College, vice-president; Edgar Dawson, Professor of Government in Hunter College, secretary-treasurer; E. U. Rugg, Lincoln School, New York, assistant secretary. An executive committee, charged with the general direction of the policies of the association, will consist of the officers and the following elected members: C. A. Coulomb, District Superintendent, Philadelphia; W. H. Hathaway, Riverside High School, Milwaukee; Bessie L. Pierce, Iowa University High School.

The first task the National Council is undertaking is the preparation of a Finding List of those experiments or undertakings in the teaching of the social studies which now give promise of being useful. This list will contain such exposition of the character and aims of these experiments as to make it possible for those working along parallel lines to discover each other and to co-operate more fully than would otherwise be probable. This expository material will have another purpose,—that of indicating outstanding differences of opinion and program in order that these differences may be systematically stated for purposes of analysis and discussion.

To aid in the discovery and assessment of these experiments, the National Council has in preparation a list of *Key Men and Women* who will be appointed in the various states to represent the National Council in its efforts to collect useful information and then to give currency to it. While this organization seems to represent all the elements out of which the best development of the social studies must proceed, the most useful work will be done only with the co-operation of teachers and investigators in all parts of the country to the end that lost motion and useless repetition may be eliminated and that mutually strengthening experiments may be pressed forward.

Persons who are interested in the wholesome development of the social studies, whether teachers or others, and if teachers, whether teachers of the social subjects or of some other subject, are urged to communicate at the earliest convenient moment with the secretary, of the National Council, Edgar Dawson, 671 Park Avenue, New York City.

Middle States Association

The annual spring meeting of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland will be held at Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J., Friday and Saturday, May 5 and 6. On Friday evening there will be a subscription dinner and the presidential address of the president, Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, of Haverford College. On Saturday morning there will be a conference upon the "Justification for the Inclusion of the Several Social Studies in the Curriculum of Secondary Schools." Various speakers of prominence in the several fields will give the arguments for their specialties.

The Association has just issued its eighteenth year-book, dated 1920. The pamphlet contains 64 pages, and includes accounts of the meetings held at Easton and Baltimore in 1920. Several of the papers read at the meetings are given in full. The report also contains financial statements and lists of members.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROF. J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL,
TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Mind in the Making. By James Harvey Robinson. Harper Brothers, New York, 1921. 235 pp. \$2.50.

The author of this small but exceedingly interesting and important volume, for many years professor of history in Columbia University and later the leading spirit in the New School for Social Research, has been an influence of very great importance in the study and teaching of history. This influence has made itself felt not only through hundreds of students who themselves became teachers and writers, and through his stimulating essays in *The New History*, but in the making of textbooks and in service on a number of important national committees, notably the Committee of Ten, Seven, and Five, and the Committee on Social Studies of the National Education Association. A trained and competent scholar, he has also been interested in the practical value of history as a part of education, and he believes we should "study the past with an eye constantly on the present." This point of view he has applied in his own chosen field of special study and research—the history of thought, "inquiring how man happens to have the ideas and convictions about himself and human relations which now prevail." That quest has led him to explore many fields in the effort to utilize "The New Allies of History," and his interests include literature, natural science, psychology and psycho-analysis, and apparently every phase of thought.

With this equipment of study and experience, Dr. Robinson undertakes in the present volume to present a study of "the relation of intelligence to social reform," and to show that "history, by revealing the origin of many of our current fundamental beliefs, will tend to free our minds so as to permit honest thinking" (p. 14). The earlier chapters point out

the way in which we absorb most of our ideas from our particular social environment with an almost total absence of critical reasoning or "creative intelligence," expending our mental energies largely on rationalization,—“finding arguments for going on believing as we already do” (p. 41). There is nothing here that is not entirely familiar in the growing body of writings on social psychology, but the case is clearly and cleverly stated.

Citing the conclusions of John Dewey in philosophy, Thorstein Veblen in economics, and Vilfredo Pareto in sociology, Dr. Robinson advances the “astonishing and perturbing suspicion” that almost all that has passed for knowledge in these fields “may be brushed aside by future generations as mainly rationalizing,” in much the same way that ideas about the natural sciences prevailing before the seventeenth century have had to be discarded. The fact that an idea is ancient is no argument for it but rather suggests the need of “carefully testing it as a probable instance of rationalization” (pp. 47-48).

The central theme of the book is how the human mind has gradually come to be what it is through a process of accumulated heritages. “There are four historical layers underlying the minds of civilized men—the animal mind, the child mind, the savage mind, and the traditional civilized mind” (p. 65). The brief discussion of the first three of these layers, whether wholly convincing or not, can hardly fail to be stimulating and suggestive. Then follow six chapters sketching in masterly fashion the history of thought from the first critical thinking of the Greeks to the scientific knowledge that has revolutionized the conditions of life in the modern world. (It is a story which the author ought to tell in another work of much greater length, as the fruit of his long years of special study, varied interests, and individual viewpoint.) In this story the fortunes of kingdoms and rulers and soldiers are ignored in favor of the rise and decline of ideas and mental attitudes and prevailing fashions in thought, and its heroes are those who have been boldest and wisest in leading the various stages of advance from primitive magic and animism to modern science.

In the concluding chapters of *Mind in the Making* Dr. Robinson makes an earnest plea for a body of citizens with the courage and will to study the problems of today in the light of history and science. It is “pusillanimous, if not hazardous, to depute to those yet unborn the task of comprehending the conditions under which we must live and strive,” and “no one will ever know more than we about what is going on now.” The “almost universal preoccupation with business,” the dominant part played by its leaders, the economic character of the chief and bitterest issues of the day, and the appeals to morals, patriotism, and even religion in the interests of the established order, are discussed. Assuring us that he is not a believer in the program of socialism and has no particular reforms to urge “except the liberation of intelligence, which is the first and most essential one,” the author makes an earnest plea for free dis-

cussion, for the encouragement of dissenters, for the adoption of the attitude of science in dealing with our social problems. “The naive tendency to class critics as enemies of society” has nothing to recommend it. Mr. Robinson agrees with Mr. Wells that there is a “race between education and catastrophe.”

There will be no lack of misunderstanding of this book by the thoughtless, for they assume that an argument for study with an open mind is only a veiled attack upon every conviction they hold, and the prospect of losing even a few fills them with discomfort. The more intelligent reader, even though he has not hitherto considered the problem, will see that the views on specific points which the author betrays by the way are of no moment in relation to the main theme, nor does it amount to much if one can convict him of occasionally falling into the pitfalls against which he warns others. Is the fundamental plea for an open-minded attitude toward our problems and a free discussion of them sound? That is the central question.

It is to be hoped that *Mind in the Making* will be widely read by people of all sorts who are charged with responsibilities for education, not only by the teachers of social subjects, but by all teachers and educational administrators.

J. M. G.

What's What in the Labor Movement? Compiled by Waldo R. Browne. B. W. Huebsch. New York, 1921. 576 pp. \$4.00.

This little dictionary of labor affairs and labor terminology is extremely useful for teachers of history or other social studies. Such items as Labor Union, Trade Union, Industrial Union, Guild Socialism, Industrial Workers of the World, Soviet, Syndicalism, and the like, are briefly defined. Short articles are included on the leading labor organizations in all parts of the world. There is a two-page account of the American Federation of Labor with a dozen cross-references, and similar brief notes on the Confédération Générale du Travail, the Parti-Ouvrier Belge, the Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, and so on for the organizations of workers in other countries. Turning to Fascism, one finds a half page on the Italian Ku Klux Klan; and there are such varied entries as Family Budget, Fatigue, Intellectuals, Inter-Church Steel Report, Malthusianism, President's Industrial Conferences, Weighted Index numbers, and White Collar Scab. The general temper is matter of fact, though with a certain friendliness to the labor point of view.

Some of the historical references, for example, that on Feudalism, are so brief as to be confusing and misleading, and indeed, one often wishes that many of the other articles had been a little longer. Brief bibliographical references would have been a valuable additional feature and it seems inexcusable that the general list of references in the Preface does not include publication dates. However, it would be ungracious to insist too much upon these points. Mr. Browne's volume is unique in the field, it is thorough within its scope, and is an invaluable work of reference.

Books on History and Government Published in the United States from Dec. 31, 1921 to Feb. 25, 1922

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH. D.

AMERICAN HISTORY

- Beauchamp, William M. The founders of the New York Iroquois league and the probable date. Rochester, N. Y.: N. Y. State Archeological Assn., Lewis H. Morgan Chapter; 35 pp.
- Bieber, Ralph P. British plantation councils of 1670 and 1672. Reprint from Washington Univ. Studies. St. Louis, Mo.: Wash. Univ.; 243-261 pp.
- Bryce, James Bryce, Viscount. The study of American history. New York: Macmillan. 118 pp. \$1.50 net.
- Burnham, Smith. The making of our Country. Philadelphia: J. C. Winston Co., 1006 Arch St. 637 pp. \$3.00 net.
- Crockett, Walter H. Vermont, the Green Mountain State, 4 vols. New York: The Century History Co., 8 W. 47th St. 4 vols. \$31.50.
- Dixon, Frank H. Railroads and Government; their relations in the United States, 1910-1921. New York: Scribner. 384 pp. (1½ p. bibl.) \$2.25 net.
- Esarey, Logan. History of Indiana. New York: Harcourt Brace Co. 362 pp. \$2.00 net.
- Folwell, William W. A history of Minnesota. In 4 vols. Vol I, to 1857. St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Society. 533 pp.
- Gabriel, Ralph H. An outline of United States history for use in the general course in U. S. History, Yale College. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press. 68 pp. 75c. net.
- Glass, Edward L. N., compiler. The history of the Tenth Cavalry, 1866-1921. Tucson, Ariz.: Acme Pr. Co. 141 pp. \$2.50 net.
- Harrison, Francis B. My Seven Years in the Philippines. New York: Century Co. 325 pp. \$3.00 net.
- Higham, Charles S. S. The Colonial entry books: a brief guide to the Colonial records in the public record office before 1696. New York: Macmillan. 48 pp.
- Johnsen, Julia E., compiler. Selected articles on Independence for the Philippines. New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 85 pp. (10½ p. bibl.) 75c.
- Latané, John H. A history of the United States. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 636 pp. \$2.00 net.
- Leechman, J. D. and Harrington, Mark R. Stirring records of the Northwest. New York: Museum of the Amer. Indian, Heye Foundation, 64 pp.
- Mace, William H. A beginner's history [of the United States]. New York: Scribner. 494 pp. \$1.25 net.
- Mathews, John M. The conduct of American foreign relations. New York: Century Co., 353 pp. \$3.00 net.
- Parsons, Eugene. The history of Colorado. Denver, Colo.: Herrick Bk. & Sta. Co., 934 15th St. 81 pp. (3 p. bibl.) \$1.60.
- Pierson, William W. Hispanic-American history, 1826-1920. New York: The Institute of Internat. Education. 36 pp. (1 p. bibl.) 25c.
- Pusey, William A. The Wilderness Road to Kentucky. New York: Doran. 131 pp. (¼ p. bibl.) \$3.50.
- Seward, Josiah L. A history of the town of Sullivan, New Hampshire, 1777-1917, 2 vols. Keene, N. H.: Estate of J. L. Seward. 1620 pp. \$16.00.
- Skinner, Alanson B. Material Culture of the Menomini. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 478 pp. (2½ p. bibl.)

ANCIENT HISTORY

- Boak, Arthur E. R. A history of Rome to 565 A. D. New York: Macmillan. 444 pp. (6¾ p. bibl.) \$3.25 net.
- Buckland, William W. A textbook of Roman law from Augustus to Justinian. New York: Macmillan. 756 pp. (1½ p. bibl.) \$15.00 net.
- Buschor, Ernest. Greek vase painting. New York: Dutton. 179 pp. \$10.00 net.
- Kelso, James A. A history of the Hebrews in outline down to the restoration under Ezra and Nehemiah. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Western Theological Seminary. 54 pp. 75c.

- West, Willis M. A short history of early peoples to 1500. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 327 pp. \$1.60.

ENGLISH HISTORY

- Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami. South India and her Moham-medan invaders. New York: Oxford Univ. Press. 258 pp. \$6.75.
- Allbutt, Sir Thomas C. Greek Medicine in Rome. New York: Macmillan. 633 pp. \$12.00 net.
- Bade, Jarret. The English Dominicans. New York: Benziger Bros., 36 Barclay St. 236 pp. \$6.00 net.
- Belloc, Hilaire. The House of Commons and Monarchy. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co. 188 pp. \$2.00 net.
- Coupland, Reginald. The Study of the British Commonwealth. New York: Oxford Univ. Press. 32 pp. 90c.
- Davies, A. Mervyn. The influence of George III on the development of the constitution. New York: Oxford Univ. Press. 84 pp. \$1.35.
- Fitzpatrick, Benedict. Ireland and the making of Britain. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co. 363 pp. \$4.00 net.
- Hayden, M. T. and Moonan, G. A. A short history of the Irish people from the earliest times to 1920. New York: Longmans, Green. 580 pp. \$7.00 net.
- Johnson, Charles, editor. Selections from "*Historia rerum Anglicarum*," of William of Newburgh. New York: Macmillan. 63 pp. 45c.
- Law, Narendra Nath. Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity. New York: Oxford Univ. Press. 228 pp. \$4.75.
- Leyden, John, and Erskine, Wm., translators. Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Babur, Emperor of Hindustan. In 2 vols. New York: Oxford Univ. Press. 324, 472 pp. \$14.40.
- O. I. The administration of Ireland, 1920 [History of events in Ireland from the Easter Rebellion, 1916 to 1920.] New York: Dutton, 468 pp. \$10.00 net.
- Turberville, Arthur S., and Howe, F. A. Great Britain in the latest age; from *laissez faire* to state control. New York: Dutton. 342 pp. \$3.50 net.
- Wittke, Carl. The history of English parliamentary privilege. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Univ., 212 pp. (3 p. bibl.)

EUROPEAN HISTORY

- Campbell, Thomas J. The Jesuits, 1534-1921; a history of the Society of Jesus from its foundation to the present time. New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 119 E. 57th St. 937 pp. \$5.00 net.
- Clark, Charles U. Greater Roumania [an economic history of Roumania]. New York: Dodd, Mead. 477 pp. \$4.00 net.
- Guest, Leslie H. The struggle for power in Europe, 1917-1921. New York: Doran. 318 pp. \$4.50 net.

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